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WEEKLY PEOPLE

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VOL. XV. No. 7.

NEW YORK, SATURDAY, MAY 13, 1905.

PRICE TWO CENTS, 50 CENTS PER YEAR

The Western Federation of Miners

A CRITICISM AND A DEFENSE

In the year 1893, in the city of Butte, Montana, the Western Federation of Miners was launched as a national organization, with the avowed purpose, as expressed in its motto, of "Education, organization, independence". Had the Federation's motto been lived up to from the start, many of the bad experiences of a decade might have been spared the Western labor movement. But the kind of education its members received was not an education in the theoretical knowledge of the class struggle, together with the practical recognition of that struggle in its industrial conflicts. On the contrary, the Federation's education was derived from a succession of bitter defeats on the economic field; from blind encounters with capitalist courts and militias; from the horrors of bull pens; from deportations and wrecked unions. Its form of organization made the Federation a sort of caricature of industrial unionism, while its spirit and methods, a reflex of that organized form, showed it to be essentially a pure and simple affair. Without adequate provision for educating its membership in the theoretic understanding of their class interests, and in its organization lacking the essentials for unity and coherence, the Western Federation of Miners may well serve as a warning to the American Labor Movement.

Not the least of the tasks of the new industrial union that it is hoped the June 27th convention will launch, will be the task of bringing about "working class unity" among its original components. Among the many constituents of the American Labor Union, which has agreed by referendum to join the new organization, there are varying degrees of ripeness. Some of the American Labor Union organizations are doubtless ready for the changes called for by the Manifesto, while others are in an undeveloped state and will require much nurture and discipline to put them on the ground of the class struggle and keep them there. In the Western Federation of Miners, such unions, for example, as the Butte Mill and Smeltermen's, No. 74, are undoubtedly ripe enough to catch the spirit and purpose of industrial unionism. The ripeness in this case is largely due to the fact that the Smeltermen's Union several years ago set apart five per cent. of its receipts from dues to be used as an educational fund, and since that time its members have been receiving some of the best and most instructive literature of the labor movement. On the other hand, the big Butte Miners' Union, No. 1, is the veritable "white elephant" of the Federation, and presents a most serious problem for industrial unionism. Organized in 1878, and in point of numbers and resources the largest in the Western Federation of Miners, this union remains practically in the same pure and simple state in which it was founded. The preamble to the Butte Miners' Union is a strange document, reading like an echo from a past industrial stage:

"Whereas, in view of the fearfully hazardous nature of our vocation, premature old age, and many ills the result of our unnatural toil; and whereas, a society which will enable the miner to be his own benefactor WOULD ALSO RELIEVE THE CORPORATIONS OF BUTTE; and whereas, it is profitable to retain skilled and experienced labor when its demand is significant in proportion to the benefits to be derived from its use; and whereas, we should cultivate an acquaintance with our fellows in order that they may be the better enabled to form an undivided opposition to acts of injustice; therefore, we, the miners of Butte, have resolved to form an association for the promotion and protection of our common interests, and have adopted the annexed constitution and by-laws for its guidance, for united we possess strength. Let us then, 'Act justly, and fear not.'"

Capital is mine. The clause thus emphasized, lends color to an alleged assertion of the late Marcus Daly, pioneer "copper king" of Montana. When asked his attitude regarding labor unions, Mr. Daly is reported to have said that he would not permit the Butte Miners' union to live a day did it not relieve him of many and varied financial obligations, referring of course, to the care of the sick and crippled from his mines, the burial of miners killed therein, or of

those dying from that dread scourge, miners' consumption, as well as numerous damage suits that might grow out of "unavoidable" accidents and deaths in the mines. The extent of that "relief" which Marcus Daly had in mind, may be inferred from a few facts and statistics of accidents and mortality in the Butte mines. Deputy State Inspector J. J. Barry reports 36 fatal and 13 non-fatal accidents in the Butte mines in 1904. But that is not all. The state mine inspector, in his report for the same year, speaking of the fact that there is no specific statute in Montana governing the sanitary conditions of mines, adds:

"In the Butte mines conditions have become so bad in a sanitary way that a reference to the statistics of mortality in that city will show that at least 100 per cent. more men die from diseases caused by bad sanitary conditions in the mines than result from all mine disasters. A very considerable number of the underground workers in Butte are most seriously affected with lung and throat diseases brought on and caused by the unhealthy and unsanitary conditions under which they are obliged to perform their daily duties. Absolutely no provision is made for protecting the health of these men in a sanitary way."

Confirmatory evidence comes also from the president of the Associated Charities, another organization that is assisting the Butte Miners' Union to "relieve the corporations." From an appeal for funds, sent out last winter, and signed by Mrs. Alice Roach, President, I take the following passage:

"The treasury has reached a point of depletion that causes alarm. With the cold weather just beginning unnumbered calls are made on the treasury by helpless widows and children of men who have been injured or killed in the mines, or of those who died after long illness with miners' consumption, and the deserted wives left destitute and helpless with young children, often infants. That they may be cared for, the Associated Charities must ask for assistance. Everyone in Butte knows the prevalence of miners' consumption."

In view of the above facts, it may be asked where the first part of the clause of the preamble comes in, that is, how the union has "enabled the miner to be his own benefactor"? Certainly that union has "relieved the corporations of Butte"; how has it assisted the miners to improve their condition or to "form an undivided opposition to acts of injustice" on the part of their employers?

Briefly stated, the mining situation in Butte has always been that of two rival "copper kings" competing with one another for political and economic power. Formerly it was Marcus Daly and W. A. Clark, and the miners were kept divided along the lines of nationality, Daly catering to the Irish and Clark to the English. To-day it is J. D. Rockefeller and F. A. Heinze, or the Amalgamated Copper Co. and the United Copper Co. Nationalities no longer divide the workers—the trick is now done to the tune of the "trust" and the "anti-trust". Heinze poses as the foe of the "trust" and the friend of workingmen; he is moreover a genius in the art of fooling the people, and has the advantage of being constantly on the scene to direct operations. The people of Butte look upon Heinze as a "protector" against Standard Oil aggression. Mostly as a result of this competition between rival corporations, wages of miners have been kept from falling, and an occasional "sop" in the form of an eight hour, or some other "labor law" has been thrown out to quiet the workers.

In the mines, however, absolutely no protection is afforded the workers against "acts of injustice". A complete system of espionage prevails therein, and the fear of the "spotter" puts the seal of terror on the lip and the look of distrust in the eye of every miner. Scores of "rustlers" through the mines three times a day the year round, ready to take the places of those who, for some reason, cannot keep pace with the mad rush for profits. By means of this reserve army and the spy system, the miner is kept in constant terror for his job, and readily submits to whatever conditions the capitalist sees fit to impose upon him. Unsanitary mines, defective timbering, due to the rush of getting out ore, unprotected chutes and manways, leading to accidents—swell the statistics of mortality and add to the list of main-

ed and crippled with monotonous regularity, while coroner's juries, "composed of miners," invariably return the verdict of "unavoidable accident."

What is the Butte Miners' Union doing all the while? "Relieving the corporations" of the inevitable consequences of such conditions—of possible damage suits, of funeral expenses and hospital fees! That this union is powerless to protect its members was shown in the case of the switchmen's strike in Butte two years ago. In September, 1903, the switchmen and trainmen on the B. A. & P., working in the yards around the mines, struck for the reinstatement of one of their number, a member of the Brotherhood of Railway Switchmen, discharged for presenting certain demands of the switchmen to the company. To protect the strike breakers and the company's property against the men on strike, miners, with union cards in their pockets, were called out of the mines, armed with pick handles, and compelled by the company to patrol the tracks until the strike was broken and the switchmen's union "smashed". The Butte Miners' union not only failed to discipline its members for thus assisting strike breakers to take the places of their fellow workers, but the union likewise offered no protest against the company's forcing union men to do the work of scabs.

Both Heinze and the Amalgamated are "friends of the Butte Miners' Union," so long as that body confines itself to its original purpose of "relieving the corporations." Each is willing to assist the union to collect dues for such purposes by discharging miners who refuse to pay dues. But neither Heinze nor the Amalgamated will tolerate interference by that union with internal conditions of their mines. Nor does the union attempt to interfere.

Engineered by "company suckers," deserted by the rank and file, who do not attend its meetings and only pay dues from compulsion—the Butte Miners' Union presents a spectacle of impotence that is pathetic and disheartening in view of the systematic, highly organized and terribly effective capitalist machine arrayed against it.

What will the coming industrial union do with an organization like this? This question suggests another: What will the new industrial union do with the Western Federation of Miners? A fountain cannot rise higher than its source. The Butte Miners' Union has been dominated by its friends the "backbone of the Federation." Will the June 27th convention break that backbone?

B. H. Williams.

Butte, Mont.

II.

On March 23 an article written by Mr. Walter Wellman, was published in the Salt Lake Telegram, condemning the Western Federation officers, Wm D. Haywood and Charles Moyer, for having raised, or tried to raise, an immense sum of money by starting the strike in Colorado. They were to follow Mr. Mitchell's example in the Pennsylvania strike. This article also stated that Haywood said to Mr. Wellman, "If Mitchell could do so, why can't we do the same." The article claimed that the Western Federation of Miners is an organization composed of Socialists and radicals, and that the secret concerning the origin of the Colorado strike was as black and ugly a story, as one would care to read of men who are presumably respectable. The article concluded by saying, that the members of the American Federation of Labor had found out that by giving help to the Western Federation of Miners, they were only nursing a viper.

The following is an answer by a member of the Western Federation of Miners, who is also a member in good standing of the United Mine Workers of America; the organization of which Mr. John Mitchell is president—the great man with the "million":

I wish to say in answer to Mr. Wellman:

1. That, we have a true report from our officers in the Western Federation of Miners, and an itemized statement of our expenditures.
2. That it is not Haywood or Moyer that controls the Western Federation of Miners, but the majority of its members.
3. That this organization is composed

(Continued on page 3.)

CHEERING CONDITIONS

FOR THE SPREAD OF GENUINE SOCIALISM IN THE BADGER STATE.

Berger - Opportunism Helps to Bring Home the Correctness of Socialist Labor Party Charges, Principles and Tactics, With Good Results—Biggest Meeting Ever.

[Special Correspondence.]

Milwaukee, Wis., May 6.—Things are looking very favorable for the Socialist Labor Party in Wisconsin. Circumstances in the Social Democratic party throughout the Badger State show that the Socialist Labor Party has a fertile field to work: to explain and promote the inevitable process of social evolution. The seeds we have sown were sometimes scattered by the wind and did not mature; sometimes the fruit of our efforts was taken away by birds of prey or fell upon rocks where it could not thrive, the broad heavy wheels of the wagon of stupidity and ignorance crushed many a seed. Was it a wonder, then, considering the opposition we had to meet, and the mountains of hardships and difficulty we had to combat, that we did not grow faster—yes, that we have made the progress under such difficult circumstances that we did?

It must be borne in mind that right here in Milwaukee is centered the very power that has spent more energy, has blackguarded the Socialist Labor Party far more than some capitalist sheets could have done, namely, Berger's "Wahrheit" and "Social Democratic Herald." But now that the Social Democrats have fallen by the wayside—have openly supported candidates of capitalist parties—they have lost the last pretence that heretofore has shielded their wrongdoings. The party of which Victor Berger so proudly claims to be the leader is, as we have said long ago—and present happenings have shown this—nothing more than an advanced form of Populism. Robert Schilling, the former leader of the Populists, used to do the same thing Berger does at the present time, that is, flirt with other parties. But Robert Schilling never claimed more than he was promised no more than he could fulfill. He was generally thought to be an honest man, who simply did not have a clearer view upon the world of politics and economics. Schilling was swept away. His place was taken by Berger, who, however, claimed more than he is and even promises more than he can fulfill. Robert Schilling had his day, so will Victor Berger have his.

The opposition which the Socialist Labor Party has encountered has been gradually giving away to interest and sympathy in our principles. A desire to study our tactics and principles has been aroused. This was one of the chief obstacles to overcome and we have succeeded.

To cite a few facts to illustrate:

At our special meeting held on Saturday, April 22, at the party's headquarters there was present the greatest crowd that has ever gathered at our headquarters. The Chicago conference to be held in the month of June was the topic of discussion. Among the speakers who took part in the discussion was Sims, the only Negro Socialist representative to the Central Committee of the Social Democratic party. Sims said that he was in favor of the policy and principles of the Socialist Labor Party, and that he keeps a great many Socialist papers, but that The People is the best of all. There was also present at that meeting, Comrade Lahm, a former member of the Central Committee of the Social Democratic party, and a faithful worker for the cause of Socialism, who resigned not very long ago from the Social Democratic party, simply because the tactics of Berger had become disgusting to him.

Many another incident could be cited to show that persons, once active workers for the Social Democracy, and others who had all kinds of prejudice against the Socialist Labor Party, are coming over to our side.

Comrade Frank Wilke has been elected by Section Milwaukee as the Milwaukee Socialist Labor Party representative to the Chicago Industrial Conference. It was decided at the meeting held on April 22 that Section Milwaukee should be represented at said conference and that our representative should work for the best interest of the So-

cialist Trade & Labor Alliance and the Socialist Labor Party.

A grand May Day demonstration was held on Sunday, April 30, at the Freie Gemeinde Hall. Many were present, and stayed till dancing was over. The speeches all dwelt on the significance of May Day. The English speaker was Comrade Frank Wilke; Comrade Minckley spoke in German, and Comrade Loewes in Hungarian. The Socialist Liedertafel rendered several songs.

The Hungarian comrades will give a May ball on May 13 at the Deutscher Maennerchor Hall, Eighth and State streets. H. B.

LONGSHOREMEN STRIKE.

Resist Reduction of Wages And Tie Up Puget Sound Shipping.

[Special Correspondence.]

Tacoma, Wash., May 1.—On the 30th of March, the Longshoremen's Union of Seattle went on strike against a reduction from 55 cents per hour to 40 cents per hour, for stowing bailing on board ocean liners. As soon thereafter as the firm, McCabe and Hamilton, stevedores, could get strike breakers to take their places the boats were finally partly loaded in Seattle, and finished their cargoes in Tacoma, with the aid of strike breakers here, for the longshoremen's union here in Tacoma refused to load the boats as they arrived here from Seattle. As a consequence, the union in Tacoma was locked out. Then the strike spread all over Puget Sound, wherever McCabe and Hamilton had contracts for loading vessels.

Between 1400 and 1500 men are involved, and now the Lumber-handlers' union refuses to load any lumber on any of the firm's boats. As soon as the strike commenced in Seattle a sweeping injunction was granted the firm and against the union, prohibiting them from doing pretty nearly anything; a modified one was issued in Tacoma. The firm has had plenty of strike breakers, such as they are. The work is so strenuous that it takes a husky and strong man to survive under the terrific strain imposed upon him. Most of the strike breakers work for a few days and then quit, not being able to stand the pace. As a result the firm is having a hard time to keep from drowning on account of their being of the small fry.

The barbers here will probably go out on Decoration Day, and the Brewers threaten to go out to-day.

W. A. Herron.

ASSASSINATION NEXT?

The officers of the Gompers American Federation of Labor Unions are in sore straits. Hit on all sides by the onward march of the spirit of progressive unionism and discerning that their work in the interests of the capitalists will soon be at an end if they don't do something, they are now resorting to fisticuffs in this city to silence the advocates of bona fide labor unionism. An incident proving this assertion occurred last week.

Alexander Lupovitz, a member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, Waiters' Alliance, an ardent worker for his union and a foe to the labor fakirs, was walking down Sixth avenue Tuesday on his way to work. At Fortieth street he was accosted by a Mr. Powers, delegate of the American Federation of Labor's Waiters' "Union" to the Central Fakirated Union.

Powers walked up to Lupovitz and surlily demanded to know what he (Lupovitz) meant by exposing him (Powers) and his cronies. Before Lupovitz could utter a word Powers swung his arm around, striking Lupovitz on the jaw with his fist. After striking Lupovitz and before the latter had time to recover himself, Powers took to his heels and ran down Fortieth street towards Seventh avenue. Lupovitz gave chase, but just as he was nearing the corner Powers jumped on a passing car and escaped.

The labor fakirs will find that fisticuffs and even assassination will not prevent progressive unionism from sweeping the allies of the capitalist aside and teaching the workers where their interests lie.

PENNSYLVANIA S. E. C.

Meeting of April 18. Mullen chairman. All present except Treseck. Minutes of previous meeting approved.

Correspondence: From Section Bradcock, \$37.80, and Section Scranton, \$7. for N. E. F. From Book, McAllaney and Hinkel, dues. From Seidel, effects of former N. E. C. committeeman.

Receipts, \$63.42; expenses, \$1.56.

Adjourned. James Erwin, Sec'y.

N. B. These minutes were held back until approved by subsequent meeting.

BEING EXPLANATORY

OF THE CHICAGO MANIFESTO AND SOME OTHER THINGS.

Ch. II.

By Frank Bohn.

When a few days ago I picked up a copy of the April number of the International Socialist Review, and read the editor's "reply" to my comments on the Chicago Manifesto, and his four pages of snarling and snapping at the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, I was surprised but not astounded, as were some of the members of the Party and of the Alliance. It should be recalled that in the first edition following the publication of the Chicago Manifesto, pardon was begged of the American Federation of Labor wing of the "Socialist" party. In the second, Robert Rives Lamonte's contribution was made the occasion of an attempt to slander the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance and incidentally take a thrust at Lamonte for daring to suggest that the industrial unionist movement might be a basis for Socialist unity. The third comes as a matter of sequence. The May number ought to contain something interesting, if, in the meantime, the editor does not explode physically.

As many of the members of the "Socialist" party who read the Review are now subscribing for The People, a few facts which I can furnish may enable them to appreciate the situation. The "reply" in the April number in which Simons singles out an illustration of a minor point in my article and centers his attack upon it, I consider unworthy of a moment's thought.

I am, presumably, one of those mixed up in the "conspiracy" to "secure new dupes and dues-payers" to "worship at the feet of the boss," De Leon; am responding to "the crack of De Leon's whip"; one of that "small body of S. L. P. intriguers industriously at work throughout the country, to disrupt the Socialist party"; am organizing for that "nauseous nuisance," the S. T. & L. A., etc. etc.

Now, if Simons was aware of all this at the time of the Chicago Conference, a blind man can see that he was guilty of a most serious neglect of duty, in not, then and there, exposing the conspiracy. In the editorial in question, De Leon is described as ready to fall on the new opportunity like a crack half-back on a muffed punt. If half of what Simons writes is true, De Leon's spy should have been kicked down stairs.

It may not be out of place here to say that I have received in my whole life just one communication from Comrade De Leon: that was a little note hurrying up an article I was to write for The People. The invitation to attend the Chicago Conference came as a complete surprise to me. If De Leon or any one else in the Socialist Labor Party or Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance knew anything about it before I did, I was misinformed by the people who extended the invitation to me.

But to the point. Simons came to the conference much opposed to its purposes. During the earlier part of the session, as Comrade De Leon correctly surmises in an editorial, he acted very much like "a strange cat in the garret." To say that he was astonished at being introduced to a member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance would be putting it mildly. Backing up about three paces he peered at me through the corner of his eye as though I were one of a new and strange species, intent on taking a bite out of him. As, however, he observed that I showed no vicious propen-

sities in my conversation with the others he grew more composed. He even permitted himself to exchange a few words with me and said not a syllable, if I rightly recollect, regarding "dues-paying dupes," "jumping at the crack of the whip," "moribund organization," "sly intriguers" "nauseous nuisance," etc., etc.

When the conference was called to order the fun began. Like the point of a keen knife the argument of Trautmann and the Western men ran around the scalp of the American Federation of Labor. It was mighty good listening for a member of the S. T. & L. A. Our friend the Editor switched about, perspired rather freely and swung all his limbs at once. To flop, or not to flop, that was the question. If flop it must be, then what would Maxie think? and Victor? and Algonern Sydney? A gulf in his subscription list has yawned before him. If he had only taken one side or the other in the labor union fight within the S. P. how much happier he would feel now! But both factions were members of the Party, the PARTY—God bless the party. If people could just go on writing articles for magazines and never make up their minds about anything—how lovely the revolution would be!

Then came the climax. Debs favored the new movement. He would have been at the conference had he not been ill. He would surely sign the Manifesto.

Having joined the new movement nothing remained to Simons but to prove his loyalty to the S. P. by slandering and lambasting and villifying the Socialist Labor Party and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. Perhaps a large portion of its members could be tricked into opposing the new movement and thus have their organization shut out. On the other hand, progressive elements in the S. P. could be influenced in such a way as to make of them tools for opposition to anything the S. T. & L. A. might see fit to propose at the June convention. As to both these possible purposes, it is my impression that Simons has completely misjudged the situation and the character of the men with whom he has to deal. No, friends, this is not going to be like the 1904 convention of the "Socialist" party.

Apparently Simons has merely tried to jump the fence, being caught by a strand of barbed wire on the top. The idea of a unity based upon a great principle has not occurred to him.

Consistency may be the "hobgoblin of small minds," but give us a trifle more of the hobgoblin. It reassures us.

Professor Will, of whom Simons is trying to make a scape-goat, keeps entirely clear of the union question. Victor Berger, Hoehn and the Volkszeitung crew support the American Federation of Labor through thick and thin and back again. They are at least consistent in their inconsistency.

Forgetting for the moment all the bitterness which may have been shown on either side and having regard only for that great principle of fellowship in human suffering by which we should ever be animated, let me suggest the case is one which calls for genuine sympathy. Some men are by nature so constituted as to imagine that compromise and trickery will secure results which, to themselves, seem worthy. Scier searching ever for causes, leaves no place in the mind for anger.

"The ego-maniac is an invalid who does not see things as they are, does not understand the world, and cannot take up a right attitude towards it."—Max Nordau, "Degeneration," p. 243.

S. L. P. AND SYMPATHETIC ORGANIZATIONS, TAKE NOTICE!

The Socialist Labor Club of New York which conducts the publication of "Der Arbeiter", Jewish Party organ, desires to announce that they have hired Gledale Schutzen Park for a picnic to be held on Saturday, August 19, 1905. In order to make a grand success of this affair they would request Socialist Labor Party and sympathetic organizations when arranging dates for their picnics to please see to it that the dates they select are not too close to the date of the aforesaid picnic of "Der Arbeiter."

ALBANY, WATERLIET AND TROY, TAKE NOTICE!

There will be a public meeting held at Zinslering Hall, 206 Washington ave-

The Political Struggle

The proletariat modeled its original organizations for defence upon the pattern of those of the guild journeymen—the UNION; so, likewise, did it fashion its original offensive weapons, whenever it faced Capital in organized bodies, after those of the journeymen—the BOYCOTT and the STRIKE.

For reasons peculiar to the historic days when the guild journeymen waged their battles against their masters, their weapons remained the same until their class became extinct. The modern proletariat, however, cannot abide by those original and primitive weapons. The more completely the several portions of which it is composed merge into a single Working Class, the more must its battles assume a political character. ALL CLASS STRUGGLE IS A POLITICAL STRUGGLE.

Even the bare requirements of the economic or industrial struggle compel the workingmen to set up political demands. Experience shows daily in multiplying instances that the capitalist State, or modern Government, considers it one of its principal duties, either to render impossible the organizations of workingmen, or (in countries where, like in the United States, the spirit of the age is felt too strongly to bluntly deny the Working Class such civic rights as those of voluntary organization), to render the organizations of labor ineffective by falling upon them with the combined forces of police, militia and judiciary, whenever the workingmen take the field against their employers in the economic struggles between the two.

The theoretical freedom of combination is, accordingly, insufficient if the proletariat is to build up its organizations with such fullness and completeness as to render them adequate for their purposes. Hence, whenever in the United States, the Working Class has stirred itself to improve its economic conditions, it has placed side by side with purely economic, a series of political demands calculated to free it from the class outrages perpetrated against it by Government, and to prevent the effectiveness of its economic organization from being thwarted. These political demands are to the American workingmen of the highest importance; they belong under the category of essential prerequisites, without which their further development becomes impossible; they are to the Labor Movement what light and air are to the human body.

There are those who endeavor to contrast the political with the economic movement, and to draw hard and fast lines between them, and who declare that the workingman should not "mix" the two. The fact is that the two—the political and the economic struggle—cannot be separated from each other. The economic struggle needs political rights and powers to be carried on successfully; and these political rights and powers will not drop into the lap of the proletariat from the moon; they will not be graciously conceded by the capitalist politicians in office; they have to be wrung from their hands; they have to be conquered; and their con-

quest requires the most energetic political activity possible—the independent political action of the Working Class, as independent from the favors, the aids, the promises of the bosses and capitalist class generally, as the economic action is, and necessarily must be, of the favors, aids and promises of that class. On the other hand, in the last analysis, the political struggle is almost an economic one. If there is any difference between the two, it is that the political struggle is a more far-reaching and deeper cutting manifestation of the economic struggle.

Not those laws only that concern the Working Class directly, also the great majority of all the others affect it more or less. It is an inevitable conclusion that, just the same as all others, the Working Class must strive for political influence and political power, must endeavor to make the government subservient to its own interests.

The means to this end are universal, at least manhood, suffrage. In many a country the Working Class is deprived of this powerful means and there it strives with might and main to acquire it. Here in the United States, the ballot is in the hands of the citizen workingman. The attempts to strike it out of his hands, the direct and indirect schemes under all specious pretenses to disfranchise the American proletariat, are numerous, but hitherto have not only been unsuccessful, but have had a contrary effect to the desired one. The American proletariat starts equipped with the most powerful political weapon—with the aid of which it can conquer all others. The task of the proletariat when it first starts its political struggles is generally made easy through the political conflicts that rage among the property holding classes themselves. The industrial capitalists, the merchants, the landlords, are generally at war with one another, and special interests always divide each of these classes into hostile political camps. During these political struggles, each side looks for allies and seeks to gain them through slight concessions. Sometimes after a victory the capitalist would break faith with his ally; but generally, during the first beginnings of the labor movement the victorious capitalist fulfilled his promises. It thus happened that the capitalist often appealed through their political parties to the proletariat for aid, and thus, themselves drew the workingmen into political action. So long as the capitalist uses the proletariat in this way, so long as the Working Class does not conceive the idea of standing out independently in the political field, the capitalists look upon it as their voting cattle, intended to strengthen the hand of its own exploiters. In this way matters continue for a considerable time.

But the interests of the proletariat and those of the capitalist class are so hostile to each other that the political alliance between the two cannot be lasting. The capitalist system of production is bound, sooner or later, to cause the participation of the Working Class in politics to take such shape that it

splits off from the capitalist parties, and that the workingman sets up his own, the Labor Party.

This process lies in the very nature of things. There is no class interest but expresses itself in a political party; just as soon as the Working Class realizes its class interests it is bound to do what the other classes do, that is, express itself politically.

At what time the proletariat of a country will be so far matured as to take this decisive step, to cut, so to speak, the navel string that binds it, politically, to the capitalist system out of whose lap it has sprung, depends, above all, upon the economic stage of development that such a country has reached; in other words, upon the degree of exploitation to which the proletariat is subjected, AND UPON THE COMPACTNESS OF ITS RANKS. There are a number of other circumstances that affect considerably the time when the Working Class assumes political independence. Of these, two are the most important: first, the degree of enlightenment that the respective Working Class enjoys upon its political and economic situation; second, the attitude that the capitalist parties assume towards it. Both these circumstances have greatly promoted the movement of the Working Class in Germany, and hence it comes that the Labor Movement in Germany is further advanced than in any other country; and it for just the reverse of these reasons, especially because of the hypocritical attitude of the political parties here, that with us the Labor Movement lags behind. But however the time may differ when, obedient to these different influences, the Labor Movement in a capitalist country takes the shape of a labor party, that time is sure to arrive as an inevitable result of the economic development.

At the same time every political party must strive to obtain the political upper-hand. It is bound to endeavor to turn the power of the State to its own advantage, that is, to use it in the interests of its class; in other words, it is bound to endeavor to become the ruling party in the State. By the very fact of its organizing itself into an independent political party, the Working Class turns its face towards its ultimate goal—the conquest of the political powers of the State, a goal which the economic development itself aids the Working Class to reach. In this respect also, the same as in respect to the time when the workingmen separate themselves from the capitalist parties, the time of their ultimate victory does not depend simply upon the degree of industrial development which the respective country may have reached, but upon a number of other circumstances both of national and international character. Furthermore, the manner in which this triumph may be achieved may vary greatly in different countries. That, however, upon which there can be no doubt in the mind of any one who has followed the economic and political development of modern society, especially in the course of the last hundred years, is the CERTAINTY AND INEVITA-

BLENESS OF THE FINAL TRIUMPH OF THE PROLETARIAT. While the proletariat is steadily extending itself, while it is growing ever stronger in moral and political power, while it is becoming ever more an economic necessity, while the Class Struggle is training it more and more into habits of solidarity and discipline, while its horizon is ever broadening, while its class-conscious organizations become ever larger and more compact, while it becomes, from day to day, the most important and, finally, the only Working Class upon whose industry the whole social body depends, while it undergoes all these important changes and thus progresses steadily, the classes that are hostile to it melt away with equal steadiness and rapidity; they steadily lose in moral and political strength; and they become not only superfluous, but a block to the progress of production, which, under their superintendence, falls into greater and greater confusion, conjuring up more and more unbearable conditions.

In view of this it cannot be doubtful to which side victory will finally lean. The property-holding classes have already been seized with fear at their approaching end. They hate to admit to themselves the precariousness of their situation; they try to deceive themselves with false pretences, and to drown their apprehension in hilarity and trivial jokes; they close their eyes to the abyss towards which they are rushing, and they do not seem to realize that by such a conduct they not only hasten their own downfall, but render it all the more disastrous to themselves.

As the last of the exploited classes, the working proletariat cannot put the power which it will conquer to the uses to which it was put by the previous classes, that is, to roll the burden of exploitation from its own upon the shoulders of some other exploited class. It is bound to use its power to put an end to its own and, along with that, to all forms of exploitation. The source of the exploitation to which it is now subject is the private ownership of the machinery of production. The proletariat can abolish its own exploitation only by abolishing private ownership in the machinery of production. The circumstance of the proletariat being stripped of all property in the means of production renders it disposed to abolish private property in that; the exploitation to which the private ownership of the means of production subjects the proletariat, compels it to abolish the capitalist system of production and to substitute it with the Socialist or Co-operative Commonwealth, in which the instruments of production cease to be private and become social property.

Under the rule of the capitalist system, that is, of production for sale, co-operative production for use cannot become general. It is impossible to introduce the co-operative for the purpose of supplementing the capitalist system of production while at the same time keeping the latter in force. This self-evident proposition establishes the fact that the Socialist system of production

must be the inevitable result of the triumph of the proletariat. Even if it were not consciously to use its supremacy in the State to recover possession of the machinery of production and to replace the capitalist with the Socialist system, it would be compelled to do so by the logic of events, although in that case not without committing many mistakes, incurring much sacrifice and squandering much time and energy. The end of it all will, under all circumstances, be the Socialist system of production. Its triumph is unavoidable just so soon as that of the proletariat itself has become unavoidable. The proletariat is bound to use its triumph for the abolition of its own exploitation, and that it can never accomplish without establishing the Socialist order. The economic and political development itself, noticeable to-day in the large capitalist undertakings—the combinations, syndicates and trusts—point the proletariat the path to Socialism, and push it in that direction. This stage of economic development which we have reached is certain to render abortive all attempts to move in a different direction which the proletariat of any country may make, in case it should be disinclined to adopt the Socialist system.

It is, however, by no means to be expected that the proletariat of any country, once it has come to power, will reveal any disinclination to adopt the Socialist system. To imagine that, would be to imagine that the proletariat would be in its infancy at the same time that it had ripened politically, economically and morally into manhood, equipped with the power and ability to overcome its enemies and impose its will upon them. Such a disparity of growth is least imaginable with the proletariat. Thanks to machinery, so soon as the proletariat has risen above its original, degraded condition, it revealed a thirst for the acquisition of knowledge and a taste for grappling with problems of social import. Side by side with this intellectual development on the part of some, the economic development of modern society moves on with such rapid strides that even those ranks of the proletariat that are least favored cannot fail to learn the lesson so strikingly taught by the large combinations of capital.

Everything combines to render the militant proletariat most accessible to the teachings of Socialism. To the proletariat, Socialism is no tidings of bad news: it is a veritable evangel. The ruling classes cannot accept Socialism without committing suicide; the proletariat, on the contrary, derives new life from Socialism, new vigor, new inspiration and renewed hope. As time passes, Socialism can only become more and more acceptable to the proletariat.

In whatever country the proletariat reaches the point of establishing an independent Labor party, such a party is bound, sooner or later, to take on Socialist tendencies, even if it were not animated from the start by the Socialist spirit. In the end such a party cannot choose but become a Socialist Labor Party.

History of a Proletarian ...Family...

Across the Ages

By Eugene Sue.

Translated by Daniel De Leon.

In order to understand our own time it is absolutely necessary that we know something of the times that have gone before. The generations are like links in a chain, all connected. The study, by which we can learn what has been done and thought before us, is history, and this is perhaps the most fascinating of all studies. Many historians fill their books with nothing but battles and the doings of "great" men, but happily this style of writing history is becoming obsolete, and the history of the people is taking its place. Socialism is more concerned with the history of the people than with the doings of kings and queens; and with a knowledge of the history of the people we can better understand how the great men achieved prominence. Eugene Sue has given us in the form of fiction the best universal history extant. It is a monumental work entitled "The Mysteries of the People," or "History of a Proletarian Family Across the Ages."

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VOLCANIC RUMBLINGS

I. [Address of "Socialist", alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party men of Kansas, on conditions in their party.]

TO THE SOCIALISTS OF KANSAS

Whereas, Our State Secretary and Local Quorum, assisted by a part of the membership of Local Wichita S. P., have usurped dictatorial authority in party matters, as follows:

1st. They have packed conventions, and have branded as "traitors" all who have dared to oppose them.

2d. In order to gain votes in their favor, on party matters, they have repeatedly used money by paying back dues of lapsed members.

3d. They have arrogated to themselves the supreme authority in most matters pertaining to party tactics, without regard to the membership outside of their own circle.

4th. They have directly violated Sec. 4 of Article 13, of the State Constitution of the party by commenting on Referendums. Said comments calculated to mould opinion in lines favorable to their views.

5th. They have expelled members on the charge of "disloyalty" to the party without investigation, warning, trial, or comment, and without sufficient grounds. Simply, because they dared to differ in opinion with them on certain methods of political action.

6th. They have arbitrarily annulled

the charter of the oldest Local in the State and from what we conceive to be purely personal reasons, without consulting the membership of the party, and afterwards accepting dues from, and issuing stamps to said Local.

7th. They have arbitrarily overruled the right of freedom of expression of opinion in Local Wichita, when such opinion did not coincide with their views; and have held secret sessions of Local Quorum to which admission of members had been denied, in violation of the spirit of Socialism.

8th. They have repeatedly used the party machinery for the airing of personal quarrels and have established an inquisitorial censorship over the morals and personal character of applicants for membership in the party.

9th. They have made the State organ of the party the means of creating prejudice against their personal opponents.

10th. They have made misstatements in particular as to the obtaining of signatures of the famous "Stimson Remonstrance" in saying that said signatures were obtained by "fraud and misrepresentation."

We hereby brand the aforesaid accusation as an infamous lie!

In view of these facts, be it

Resolved, That we, a few of the militant Marxian Socialists of Wichita, assembled this 22d day of April, 1905, demand an immediate investigation of their official actions as above mentioned;

and in case the above charges be proven, be it further

Resolved, That said Thos. E. Will and the Local Quorum be immediately removed from the position they now hold in the party. Signed by the following members present,

W. A. Williams
W. A. Pratt
E. W. O'Brien
W. R. Rhea
H. Watts
C. W. Stimson
W. S. Austin
H. C. Peachey
N. Overstreet
R. S. Armiel

II. [Two former members of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party, tell of the greivous corruption and betrayal in their party in California.]

When we want to speak let us think first, Is it right? Is it kind? Is it necessary? If not let it be unsaid, and the man or woman who does not think, has no mind to change. We have thought, our mind has changed, it is necessary, for the benefit of those who have not thought, that we speak.

Two years ago we left one of the great industrial centers of the East, and came West. We located in Barstow, Cal., a town of perhaps five or six hundred pop-

ulation. Ourselves Socialists, and there being a Socialist Party local in the town, we were not long in becoming members. Soon after joining, we discovered the causes for our deep thinking, and change of mind.

About one year previous to our taking residence in Barstow, Harry McKee, the State Organizer for the Socialist Party in this state, organized the local we found in existence when we arrived. It did not take long for us to discover there was something wrong. Two of the charter members of this local, one a judge, L. C. Currier, the other, a constable, Hanson, were elected by and were then serving under, a Democratic administration. We, of course, asked questions; but could get no satisfaction that way. Then we noted that the tactics were wrong. They only needed a quorum to vote the entire sixty three members of that local. We protested, but were immediately sat down upon. We then in silence awaited developments.

We did not have long to wait, for a short time after the proxy tilt, the Santa Fe Railway Co., in anticipation of a strike, distributed deputies, "scabherders", along its system, some thirty or forty being dropped in Barstow. Two of the charter members of the Socialist Party local, one of them the organizer, accepted, as many of these hired tools of capitalism as they could accommodate, as roomers. In about three weeks the strike was called. Some of the men

who went out on strike were members of the Socialist Party (we had been given to understand at various times, when we became too inquisitive or active, that the Socialist Party local was there when we came). On this particular occasion we determined not to be sat down upon. Accordingly, at the next meeting night, we brought the matter up in the local, and we can safely say it was discussed; and when we left it was being "cussed". The members one by one dismissed themselves. That was the last meeting for three weeks.

The meetings at that time were being held in a barber shop connected with a rooming house, the organizer of the local being proprietor of both. The meeting place was then changed to a vacant building and about two or three weeks after, Geo. Goebel, National Organizer of the Socialist Party, came West and stopped in Barstow. He was to speak there, but changed his mind. (We will not say why). He (Goebel) came to our house. We discussed the tactics and troubles of Barstow local. We told him of the Democratic Judge and Constable, traveling on annual passes, presented by the Santa Fe Co; of proxy voting; of all the wrongs that existed at that time. He (Goebel) investigated and found all this, (and more) to be true. On reaching Los Angeles, Mr. Goebel preferred written charges against Barstow local.

Then came Albert Mallory (on his

way to Arizona). He said the state committee had requested him to investigate further. Of course, we were questioned, and reiterated former statements. Mr. Mallory, after a thorough investigation, told us that he "at first thought we had exaggerated conditions, but we had not told half the story," and requested us to write Mr. Helfinstein, (state secretary) of existing conditions; but not to do so until after the election. We wrote at once.

The meeting place was then changed to the Democratic court room. The charter was hung upon the wall (we had ceased to be active members at this time and were viewing the situation from a distance, "thinking"); and beneath that charter the unemployed were sentenced for vagrancy, (in many instances those sentenced were strikers, arrested by the Democratic constable, a charter member of the local, or by the scab herding deputies, and sentenced by the Democratic Judge, also a charter member of the local); and within that same room, beneath that same charter, the members who attended the Socialist Party meetings, met to discuss and condemn the system that is making tramps of their brothers.

So things went from bad to worse. Election day was drawing near, the local members felt they should do something. The Socialist Party had a candidate in the field for county supervisor, as did the Democrats. The Republicans had none. The Democratic Judge became imbued with the "do something" spirit. He went around distributing Democratic handbills (the headline was: "Hurrah for the Democrats"), tacked them upon telegraph poles, on out-houses, in stores, saloons, threw them in doorways, tacked one upon the outside of the door of the Democratic court room, in which the Socialist Party local met, (himself librarian of the local, and it remained there until after the election, and not one of

the members who attended the meetings at that time raised a voice of protest against such actions. The Judge threw one of these "Hurrah for the Democracy" posters in at our door, (we did not feel complimented). We immediately wrote a statement of the facts and sent it, together with this Democratic poster to the state committee; and, as we were through thinking, had solved the problem, we withdrew from the Socialist Party.

Shortly after this we received a communication from a member of the state committee, named Sanfleben, asking us to send a sworn statement of the facts. We did as he requested; as we were members of the party when our first charges were made. The matter was brought up before the state executive body. They then wrote to the secretary of the local at Barstow. The secretary came to see us. He gave us the communication. We read it. Then the secretary said: "I was over to see Dr. White (ex-secretary of Barstow local and one of the intellectuals), and he told me not to say anything to substantiate these charges, all of which I know to be true;" but, he added, "I'd like to do my duty." We did not see him again, but suppose he followed the Dr's good advice; for at the next meeting of the state committee the Barstow case was dropped.

Shortly after this, we left the town, fully convinced that the Socialist Party is wrong, and not the party of the working class. We hope to see many of the working class get down to serious thinking, and there will be many changed opinions, for to change thy opinion and follow that which corrects thy error is consistent with freedom.

J. J. Shea.

Maniel Shea.

P. S. We shall at once join the party of the working class, the Socialist Labor Party.
Los Angeles, Cal., April 25.

ANY'S RECORD

Report of Vital Statistics—Infants Under One Year, One-Third of Death Rate.

Washington, May 5.—Consul-General Mason sends the following report from Berlin, Germany:

The Imperial Bureau of German Statistics is accustomed to make and publish periodically some very interesting studies based on the vital statistics of the empire. These studies relate primarily to the marriage, birth, and death rates, as related to the increase, change of domicile, and other movements of the population, and taken together, shed a very interesting sidelight upon the steady, symmetrical growth of the German people. The latest studies of this kind have been based upon the vital statistics of 1903, and from results recently published the following facts are derived.

The census of Germany is taken at the beginning of December every fifth year. The last one, taken December 1, 1900, showed a total population of 56,367,178, an increase of 4,087,277, or 7.8 per cent. during the five years since December 1, 1895. It may therefore be assumed that the total population of the empire during 1903, the year under observation, was about 59,000,000 souls. Among these people there were solemnized during the year 463,150 marriages, which was equal to 7.91 for each 1000 of the population. The months most prolific in weddings were in the following order: October, May, November and April. Of the men who married, about 44 per cent were between the ages of 25 and 30 years; the brides, in 56 per cent of all the marriages, were under 25 years of age. In 95,577 cases, or 20.6 per cent of the whole number, the bride was older than the bridegroom. Ninety per cent of the men and 91 per cent of the women had not been previously married. Of the whole number of marriages 276,468 were of the evangelical faith, 140,965 were Catholics and 3631 of the Jewish religion.

The total number of births was 2,046,206, of which 1,963,078, or 96.01 per cent were living, and 83,128, or 3.99 per cent were stillborn. Born in wedlock were 1,875,679 children; out of wedlock 170,526, or 8.33 per cent of the whole number. Twins were numerous—26,295 pairs, or 12 out of each 1000 births; of triplets there were 270 and quadruplets 2 cases; both of the latter in Bavaria. Of the whole 58,904 children of plural births 26,816 were males and 25,388 females. Illegitimate births were most numerous in February, March, April and May; least numerous in August and October. Stillbirths were most numerous in August, October and June.

Against this stalwart birth record there were 1,234,033 deaths, a net gain by natural causes of 747,045 souls during the year. The most fatal months were, in order, February, January, August, September and March; the least deadly, November, December and June. The high death rate of February was due, as usual, to tuberculosis and other maladies of the respiratory organs, which are the scourge of this humid, sunless, winter climate, and to various complications resulting from influenza. The high relative mortality of August and September, 1903, is attributed to the fact that the prevalent weather was exceptionally warm and wet, conditions under which the death rate from intestinal disease is uniformly increased in Germany. Especially fatal was that period to nursing children, the number of deaths of infants during July, August and September, 1903, having been about 10,000 or more than those during the whole year 1902. With all the progress of German medicine and surgery, with all the amelioration that improved midwifery and skillful nutrition have provided, the infant with record is here, as elsewhere, a pathetic and lamentable one. Of the whole 234,033 deaths in Germany during 1903, less than 404,520, or 34.5 per cent, were of children under 1 year of age. Leaving out of account the stillbirths, 20.4 per cent, or one in five of the children were alive, died before they had reached the age of 12 months. Of the whole number of these victims, 351,080, or 19.3 of every 100 born, were legitimate, and 33,437, or 32.7 per cent, were of those born out of wedlock. The least fatal decade of human life in Germany is that between the tenth and twentieth years. From the later age onward the death rate increases quite uniformly with advancing age.

In respect of self-murder Germany continues to present a sinister record. There were 11,393 suicides in 1900, 11,350 in 1901, and 12,238, namely 9793 males and 2570 females, in 1902. This was 21 suicides for every 100,000 of the population of Germany, a rate which can only be explained by what certain psychologists have declared to be a racial tendency, accentuated in the case of many individuals by poverty, resentment of military discipline, and fear

of rumors growing out of failure to pass difficult examinations in school and college. It is noticeable, however, that the suicide death rate is slowly but surely decreasing. In 1878 the proportion was 30 suicides for each 100,000 inhabitants, in 1879, 1881 and 1882 it rose to 31, since when it has gradually declined with the generally improved social and material condition of the working classes until the annual tribute of self-murder is from 20 to 25 per 100,000.

Death by accident and murder cost the Fatherland annually from 35 to 37 human lives for every 100,000 of the people. This includes, of course, the loss of life by rail and here there is a showing which more than compensates for the gloomy record of suicide. The exact statistics of railway casualties do not form a part of the published report, but they have been specially prepared and furnished to this consulate by the imperial health office for the five years from 1897 to 1901 inclusive, as follows:

| Year | Passengers | Employees | Total |
|-------|------------|-----------|-------|
| 1897 | 98 | 722 | 820 |
| 1898 | 72 | 825 | 897 |
| 1899 | 79 | 842 | 921 |
| 1900 | 119 | 860 | 979 |
| 1901 | 75 | 786 | 863 |
| Total | 443 | 4037 | 4480 |

Compare these figures with the 411 people killed and 3747 injured by railways in the United States during the period of three months from July 1 to September 30, 1904, and it will be seen that in one respect, at least, human life is better protected here than in America.

In respect to malignant diseases, one of the darkest spots in the records of recent years is the steadily growing death rate from cancer. Not less than 35 persons per week—a minimum average of 5 per day—die of cancerous disease within the municipal limits of Berlin.

ELEVATOR BOYS.
A Sample of Conditions in Philadelphia Hotels, by One of Them.
[Special Correspondence.]
Philadelphia, Pa., May 6.—The elevator boy dreams of owning the hotel before he enters the position, but after taking some of the slavish effects of this profit-making institution, he longs to escape.

Reporting at 7.30 o'clock in the evening for night duty, he goes to the dining room bench for his supper, "a la remnant," and at 8 o'clock begins the work after which he gets christened, and is sometimes laid out at.

Sliding the "cage" door open of this anti-safety, old-style, but up-to-date profit apparatus (which is able to raise the owner's interest and the bodies of his guests, along with the elevator boy and the latter's wages, too—if the wages are in the boy's pocket when the elevator ascends), is no light task.

In the winter the drafts from the shafts and cellar-ways fan into the operator's body everything from muscular rheumatism to pneumonia.

Now, then, the elevator must be "respected," because it's property and costly, but elevator boys are to the capitalist nothing but merchandise, and easily obtained. Consequently, the owner informs his wage slave to "rest" the elevator and run up the stairs to answer room calls of the different cranks, pranks and dopes for hot water and ice water. Continuous rushing up and down stairs for three floors, thirty-six rooms, with hands loaded with pitchers full of water will have an injurious effect upon the heart.

When the elevator takes another pause at 12 o'clock midnight this little operator starts to sweep the dining-room carpet, which, in Philadelphia, is about a block long. With a broom in one hand, the other hand acts as night-clerk, assisting the drunken, profanity-bowling guests, and answering the calls from the society lady freaks.

At 4 o'clock in the morning he goes to the cellar to be the stoker and fireman, to build six fires, and feed the steam-heater and the hot-water engine. Then he can feed himself a little from the eatables that are not under lock and key in the refrigerator. Mr. Slave Driver sees to it that his wage slave doesn't get "gouty" overeating any of the fresh food.

Well, after shoveling about a ton of coal, the elevator boy can wash up, breakfast, go up stairs and call the guests without waking them up! Then, at 8.30, he goes home to his furnished room for the other part of the day, and searches for sleep.

This is the condition of these wage workers now. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance must shelter them also before any change or improvement is possible for them.

Socialism is possible when a majority of the Working Class become conscious that therein lies the salvation of their present and future economic existence. The work of the Socialist to-day is to work to obtain that majority.

On the Chicago Manifesto

[These columns are open for the discussion to Party members and non-Party members alike.]

From Mrs. Olive M. Johnson, Member Socialist Labor Party.

Oakland, Cal., March 16.—In the Chicago Manifesto debate four main opinions have so far been advanced by Socialist Labor Party members. Number one may be summed up in: "Beware of such explosions! Stay away from such conventions!" Number two: "Send delegates to the June convention but with iron-clad laws that if the convention does not endorse the Socialist Labor Party, the delegates withdraw." Number three: "That the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance ought to go up in the proposed organization and that it would be best all around if the 'non-political party endorsement clause' be upheld by the convention." Number four: "Delegates should be sent! Extreme caution exercised. Continually on the look out for a trap and general hostility observed!"

Let us examine these in rotation.

First, the main work of the Socialist Labor Party during the last nine years has been concentrated in the effort to break down the power of "pure and simple" It has exposed the fakirs, laid bare the incapacity and scabbiness of the American Federation of Labor, drawn the workers' attention to their abject position in the alliance between the American Federation of Labor and the National Civic Federation on the one side and the Citizens' Alliance and the reserve army of unemployed on the other; and how, withal, the fakirs were used to lead the workers into the political shambles of capital. Upon this the Party has issued books, pamphlets, leaflets, manifestos, and filled pages upon pages of the Daily and Weekly People, spent thousands of dollars and an untold amount of energy. The intellectual drowsiness of the American working class has at last given away before this extensive cannonading. It is staggering and shaking the Rip Van Winkle sleep out of its eyes. With such a situation before us it is beyond comprehension how a Socialist Labor Party man can cry out: "Beware of such explosions!"

Second, I am positively opposed at all times to sending delegates with iron-clad instructions to conventions, whose only purpose it can be to listen to the pros and cons and thus come to better conclusions. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is a live movement and ought to be represented by LIVE MEN, NOT FOSSILS. The best men with their brains in chains of instructions are only living fossils. If 100 men come together, each with a pocketful of instructions, how can there be any deliberation? If the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance sends delegates at all, such must be able to THINK, TALK and ACT freely upon questions that ARISE, MANY OF WHICH CANNOT BE FORESEEN. It is untrue what one debater said, that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is bound to stand by its delegates. The general vote of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is its highest court, and, in this case, both it and that of the Socialist Labor Party, must of necessity have its say.

Third, it is impossible that the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance can DESIRE a separation of the political and economic organizations of labor and, therefore, its delegates could not work for or even passively submit to it. That these two organizations must go together in the emancipation of the working class is THE FUNDAMENTAL PRINCIPLE of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. It is this that makes its position impregnable, and a Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance or Socialist Labor Party man is bound to work for that end wherever he is heard.

Fourth, I cannot imagine Socialist Labor Party men in a convention of labor moving uneasily, as if frightened or on the lookout for traps; and they would be untrue to our position if observing general hostility. The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is the teacher, the leader of thought and the advance guard of progress; therefore, in such a place it must appear boldly, fearlessly and, moreover, amiably; not as an enemy, but as a friend, THE BEST FRIEND. How can anyone fear a trap for the best tutored labor organization in the whole world? We own our own press. We discuss before our delegates go, and when returned; and we know what has been said and done at the convention: the columns of The People can and WILL, WITHOUT DOUBT,

workmen, whose whole soul and purpose is bound up with the labor movement: to speak as our literature has taught, to thus break the spell of prejudice with which its enemies have succeeded to surround it, and to teach the true and only methods of organization that can emancipate the working class. Having done this it has done its duty to the new organization, to the Socialist Labor Party and to the American working class.

The great stumbling block in the Manifesto seems to be the no-political party endorsement clause. The question what stand we ought to take if the convention holds to it belongs properly to the after-convention discussion, yet, as so much has already been said about it, a word may not be out of place. Can we determine NOW if in such a case the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance ought to go up in the proposed organization or not? Utterly impossible, in my opinion! To me the political endorsement clause is not of sole and lone importance in determining this stand. The Manifesto is far from definite on several other important points. The determining factor should be how the convention ACTS and WHAT SORT OF AN ORGANIZATION IT LAUNCHES. If the new organization is a tape-wormy, pure-and-simplified, leader-ruled, industrial organization, then the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance must proudly and defiantly continue its work of greater agitation and education of the working class. But if it is an organization soundly based on the class struggle, on democratic rule, and free speech, but is not as yet ready to endorse the Socialist Labor Party, then I hold that regardless of this it would be absolutely a crime for the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance men to hold aloof from it. Left to itself only half way class conscious, it will easily fall a prey to fakirs and knaves; but, with a few thousand active, energetic, aggressive Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance men in its locals, continually ringing forth the clear notes of the coming revolution and pushing Socialist Labor Party literature among their fellow unionists, then we can expect that within less than half a decade, this movement must gravitate towards the true position so that it has no choice, but MUST endorse the Socialist Labor Party.

The Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance is the yeast of the social discontent of to-day. Its function is to raise the dough, and, if we find a good piece, don't let us neglect to put the yeast into it.

With Comrade Ebert I say, "No compromise!" Truth and correct-principle cannot be compromised. They must be forced forward or they will force themselves out in less pleasant manners; but it is this forcing process that sometimes takes a little time. Indeed, we cannot afford to compromise truth, but IT IS NOT COMPROMISE to take advantage of an event that arises. That is statesmanship and generalship. The Chicago convention is an event, and what is more it is an event that we long have sought for. To be ALIVE TO THE SITUATION is what is now required. It is not child's play we are up against: it is American history that is being enacted. The Socialist Labor Party must have a large, active, economic sister organization before it is face to face with the revolution. Therefore we cannot afford to let anyone else take charge of the awakening masses. A mistake at this stage may cause a fatal event.

REMOVAL NOTICE.
The Revolutionary Socialist Educational Club of Chicago, Illinois, (Labor Lyceum) has removed to 102 Clark st., rooms 24 and 25. Workingmen and women are invited to pay a visit.
Theodore Meyer, Sec'y.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

WESTERN FEDERATION OF MINERS

(Continued from page 1.)

of men who believe in mutual protection, and in not allowing their officers to dine with the Citizen's Alliance and taking pleasure trips through Europe in time of trouble.

These are only facts. We, the members of the Western Federation of Miners, have plenty of proofs to deny Mr. Walter Wellman's statements. If anything is black and ugly, I think it is the coal strike in Colorado, Mexico and Utah, under the regime of Mr. Mitchell and the Interborough strike in New York under Chief Stone.

Why try to down the Chicago convention, Mr. Wellman, Mitchell and Gompers, by writing such falsehoods? Come and defeat us "Socialists and radicals" and do not use the press for your weapon.

I want to say this to the reader: follow me and I will tell you what a "conservative" man, John Mitchell, did to us miners in Colorado, Mexico and Utah.

I suppose that part of the treatment which this man gave us you all know, but you may be in the dark to the fact, that I am the one that kept the Utah strikers out and they are out yet and do not intend to return to work until we are recognized. But I tell you that we had to fight. We fought, the corporation and they could not wipe us out; but soon after we had to fight a few of the "conservatives", together with the corporation. That made the fight harder for us; and if it were not for the Western Federation of Miners, who came to our rescue, we would have had to return to work or starve. And this was the work of those "conservatives". I'll tell you how it was.

The strike was declared on November 9, 1903, by order of John Mitchell, who signed his name to the call and also made a speech in Trinidad, telling the boys to "strike, strike, strike, until they would win, no matter if it took five years", that the national body would support them.

The trouble started; but John Mitchell on June eleventh sailed from New York for Europe, not forgetting to write a personal letter to Harry Bonsfield, his representative in District 15, United Mine Workers of America, instructing him to call a convention, and stating that Trinidad would be the best place to call said convention; and to tell the delegates to the convention that no matter what action they would take at the convention that the support was going to be cut off. (I have a copy of your letter, Mr. Mitchell). We sent solicitors out and they secured funds enough to continue the strike. If Mr. Bonsfield had not taken the trouble to go to Illinois and tell the state officers to not send the 20,000 dollars—(this fellow was one of the officers and a "conservative", too)—we would have won out.

We sent a committee to the national headquarters, after the convention of District 15, which was held on September 12, 13, 15 and 16 in Pueblo, Colorado, instructed to get support from the United Mine Workers of America, if not financially, then morally. They were sent back instructed to send back to work all the men that they possibly could, and those that would not be taken back would be sent to some organized State at the expense of the national organization, if they were not too many. (They took the few that went from Utah into Colorado. Isn't Colorado a well organized State?) This was done to break the strike, just as Randall said, at the convention in Indianapolis.

We of Utah did not obey Mitchell's order to return to work. We are still on strike, because the giving up of the strike meant to put a good many people on the road, and leave their homes in the possession of the Utah Fuel Company. They left their homes by order of the organizers, that Mitchell sent here and were put under tents, and the misery and mistreatment by the Utah Fuel Company followed. In October, 1904, we made an appeal to the national headquarters, stating the conditions prevailing here. The women and children were without shoes and without bread. From under tents which were dilapidated, you could hear the children scream from hunger and the men and women sobbing, for being unable to help them. The order came to the strikers to return to work (if they could possibly get work) with the same company that they have been fighting for over a year. Go back, tear up their union cards and promise never to speak about any organization, also pay rent for the houses that they had built.

This was what they were to do if they had not refused to go; but by refusing to go to work they were sentenced to starve by Mitchell, who said "You will either go to work or starve", and he had part of that million dollars in his hand. This was not all.

When I saw that we could not go any further without any help, I started out

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NEW YORK LABOR NEWS CO., 2, 4 and 6 New Reade Street,

soliciting aid through Kansas, Missouri and Illinois. I found the members of the United Mine Workers of America, very generous and, in spite of those who did not want to endorse my credential, I succeeded in getting support enough to continue the strike in Utah.

While in Kansas, I met Mr. Richardson, and he told me that he was going to issue a circular that none of his locals give anything to sub-District No. 3 of District 15, United Mine Workers of America. I did not stop very long in Kansas and I am not positive if the circular was issued, but by some influence the assessments were stopped.

In Illinois I found in all the locals a circular that was issued forbidding them to contribute anything to District 15, unless the solicitor had a credential signed by the head officers. Now judge for yourself in what a fix I was, that the head officers of the organization were treating me as one of those "Socialists or radicals" and would hardly recognize me, as did Mr. Callwell, president of District 21, Missouri. He looked at me as if I were a man with horns on, because I was from Utah, where they said that we were rebels, because we believe in fighting until we win and not to please the operator as the national officers wanted us to do. But in Illinois and Missouri, the members of the United Mine Workers of America treated me as a brother and also contributed to the brothers on strike. I don't want the reader to think that I am alluding to the organization of the United Mine Workers of America, but to those who call themselves leaders and those officers who ordered the last Colorado (coal) strike, who favored a reduction in eastern states and would have us take defeat in Utah, when we were willing to fight against those men who had more money than they wanted, but would have us starve or submit.

Mitchell, in his defense against Randall, at the Indianapolis convention, attacked the characters of Wm Howell and John Gherr, accusing them of misappropriating the strike funds of District 15, United Mine Workers of America. Our financial committee, after auditing the books, reported that nothing was found wrong with any of the district officers. I have not been very well acquainted with Mr. John Gherr and therefore cannot say whether he lives in a sumptuous mansion or in a hut; but I can say this much for Mr. Howells, if he did misappropriate the strike fund, he would not live in a little shanty in

the mountains of Colorado, but like some of the head officers live in the city.

In conclusion, I wish to say that we, the miners of Utah, are pleased to be to-day under the Western Federation of Miners, and we can never forget that this organization accepted us, when from the first day that we entered the organization, they had to support us. We did not leave the brothers of the United Mine Workers of America but our officers, who after taking us out of our homes, left us hungry and bare-footed in the great American desert.

Brothers of the United Mine Workers of America, we of sub-District 3, of District 15, United Mine Workers of America, now Local 237 of the Western Federation of Miners, still feel and sympathize with you, and when you will need our aid, even if our officers will issue circulars not to help you, (which I can safely say will never happen to Moyer and Hayward or any other officers of the W. F. of M.), we will answer them that we are fighting not our fellow miners but to do away with the company store, so that we can spend our earnings wherever we please; we will tell them that if you need help, we are not to be dictated to how we are to spend our money or how, we should give it.

This is what we are in favor of the Chicago convention doing: to have it so that one card from an organization should place a man so that he will be a union man in all organizations and be a brother to all and not only to a certain class.

As to the political I will say, that as long as we are united 364 days in the year and then on election day we go half for the capitalist and half to the other parties, we can never succeed, because there are such men as James Peabody, elected to down us. Just try to elect one of our own brothers, and then tell me if I am wrong. You are sure to win if you stand together at the polls.

I could write a fair size book on the Colorado and Utah and Mexico coal strike and one on the Metalliferous strike of Colorado but the only difference would be that I see in the two strikes that the Western Federation of Miners fed their people, and the officers, who are nothing but "Socialists and radicals" stood by their people and also took us out of starvation, while the officers of the United Mine Workers stoned us almost to death.

L. Roberti.

Helper, Utah.

Owing to the limitations of this office,
correspondents are requested to keep a
copy of their articles, and not to expect
them to be returned. Consequently, no
stamps should be sent for return.

SOCIALIST VOTE IN THE UNITED STATES:

| | |
|--------------|--------|
| In 1855..... | 2,068 |
| In 1859..... | 21,157 |
| In 1896..... | 36,564 |
| In 1900..... | 34,191 |
| In 1904..... | 34,172 |

Muse not the way the pen to hold,
Luck hates the slow and loves the bold,
Soon come the darkness and the cold.
Greatly begin! though thou have time
But for a line, be that sublime—
Not failure, but low aim, is crime.

—LOWELL.

"STEALING THUNDER."

Mr. Jack London, described as a young San Francisco journalist, and who has latterly burst forth across the literary firmament as a Socialist and propounder of Socialism, appears with a new book entitled the "War of the Clashes." The burthen of this book's song is that the ruling class is "stealing the thunder" of Socialism and the charge is attempted to be proved by the prevailing and increasing rage for "municipalization." Both the allegation and the reasoning are false.

If "municipalization" is what Socialism aims at, then it is not Capitalism that is stealing the thunder of Socialism, but Socialism that is purloining the thunder of Capitalism. Long before Socialism advanced its tenets and unfurled its flag, Capitalism started in to "municipalize," and did "municipalize" many a function that was previously a private industry. The Fire and Police Departments are instances in point; and the principle was extended by Capitalism to the national sphere when it wiped out the private undertakings of mercenary armed bands and letter-carrying, nationalized both, together with other such one-time private industries, and established the Post Office, the War Department, etc. Surely not Jove but Prometheus was a thief of thunder. If "municipalization," or even "nationalization" is the thunder that Socialism is playing at, then, as well charge Jove with stealing the flickering flames of Prometheus, as charge Capitalism with stealing the thunder of Socialism when the capitalist class flashes its "municipalization" or "nationalization" lightning with the accompanying roll of thunder.

"Municipalization" and "nationalization" are stages in capitalist development; they are stages closely parallel with the development of feudalism when the overlord shore the crests of his feudal grandees, and, one after another, "municipalized" or "nationalized," in short, absorbed the feudal functions that they once exercised and enjoyed. No bourgeois of the then oncoming class of Capitalism ever for a moment imagined the slightest relief from the then process of feudal "municipalization" and "nationalization"; nor did it enter his head that the feudal overlord was stealing bourgeois thunder, much as appearances might seem to point in that direction. What the bourgeois strove after was the snapping of the bonds of feudality that hampered his motions; never an instant was he deceived by the circumstance that, because the number of his exploiters decreased, he, therefore, was freer; as fast as these decreased he felt the power of the increasing exploiter increase, the latter's grip more merciless upon his neck, the latter's fingers more greedily rummaging in his pockets. Exactly so with the "municipalizations" and "nationalizations" of Capitalism. As the feudal lords "pooled their issues" by merging their powers in the feudal central authority, so do the capitalist lords, to-day, "pool their issues" by "municipalization" and "nationalization" schemes—huge mergers in which union adds suction-power to capitalist tentacles and tyrant-power to capitalist claws. Not such is the aim of Socialism; not of such material is its thunder. The thunder of Socialism begins and ends with the demand for the abolition of wage-slavery—and that lightning no capitalist Jove dare monkey with, let alone steal.

Mr. Jack London is a young man; the sun-burst of Socialism seems to dazzle him; its fresh breath seems to make him reel with the intoxication of delight. It is to be hoped that he is not too permanently young to realize that he has yet to learn what Socialism is, and that he be endowed with sufficient earnestness to acquire the knowledge, and cease allowing his facile pen to act as a conjurer of lures that promote capitalist manoeuvres.

What's amiss? A strike has been in progress for some time in Chicago, for fully a week it has been at an acute stage—and yet Mr. Samuel Gompers, "President," "Editor" and "Undertaker" has not yet shown up on the scene to preside over, editorialize upon, and officiate as undertaker at the funeral of an endeavor of Labor to wrest better conditions from the capitalist exploiter!

Something must be amiss.

We recently had a sample of Gompers or A. F. of Hellism in New York. Just as soon as the Interborough strike threatened to be a serious affair to "President," "Editor" and "Undertaker" Gompers' patron Belmont, the gentleman alighted on this city, like a ready mosquito on a palpitating vein, and, together with his friend, Grand Chief Stone, and his fellow Cigar-makers Unionman, the Volkzeitung Social Democrat Morris Brown, stabbed Labor in the back by declaring that "the strikers broke their contract and were in the 'wrong'!"

It has been so every time. Every time Labor threatened to seize the vulture exploiter by the throat, the latter knew how to connect with Gompers, just where to find him and to turn the worthy into a "Johnny-on-the-spot" for "Undertaker" purposes. How comes it Gompers and none of his assistants have yet turned up in Chicago with the declaration that "the striking teamsters are wrong," that they have "broken their contract," and that "the sacred rights of the employer must be protected?"

There certainly is something amiss. Can it be that the reason for the gentleman's scarcity in Chicago is that bullets are flying around, and he fears to have his precious hide perforated? Perish the thought! Whoever saw Gompers, as, with military tread and thrown-out chest, he exhibits himself in public with the three turkey-feathers of "President," "Editor" and "Undertaker" in his hair, can not but dismiss the idea that cowardice could ever find room in his valiant chest. Some people have claimed that, whenever there is real trouble, Gompers is in hiding. But these people are mere "assassins of character."

If, then, it is not the violence, prevailing now in the Chicago strike, that keeps Gompers away, what does?

Something is amiss!

WARSAW AND KAMRANH BAY.

Poland may be far from Indo-China and Kamranh Bay, but if they were close and contiguous neighbors they could not be the scenes of happenings more identically in accord.

The despatches from Poland are unanimous in describing the shooting by the police and military at the May Day parade as "unprovoked and wilful." Superficially considered, the act looks like a blunder of subalterns. There is turmoil enough in the Czar's dominions; why exasperate the people of Poland and add to the Czar's troubles? It was no subaltern blunder. They obeyed orders from above. Whether the policy pursued by the rulers of Russia be wise or unwise, the palpable police outrage committed in Poland on May Day was in pursuit of that policy, a foreign policy, whose counterpart is being pursued in Kamranh Bay. That policy is to embroil Europe in the war that now is taxing the forces of Russia.

In Kamranh Bay, the Russian squadron is doing all it can to produce such an irritation in Japan against France as to get the two nations at war. It is unquestionable that the Russian squadron is provisioning and otherwise recruiting its strength in French Indo-China. The external forms of international propriety are preserved, but the conduct which Rojstvensky's squadron is forcing upon France is calculated at any time to snap the bonds of international comity, and furnish Russia with French battleships as allies in the China sea against Togo. The fact would instantaneously be felt in Europe. An explosion there could not fail. The Polish outrage is intended to promote the explosion, if the train is set on fire from Kamranh Bay, or to start the fire in Europe itself and quicken its outbreak in the Far East.

It is known that a secret compact exists between the Czar and the German Emperor that the latter will attend to Poland in case of an outbreak there. The interference of Germany, under whatever plausible pretext, can not choose but start a European conflagration. This interference is to be promoted. The occasion for it has been slow in ripening. The May Day police outrage was intended to stimulate matters.

Russia's silent partners, France and Germany, have been slow. Neither is over-anxious to fall to, as may be judged from the "peace rumors" that have been periodically started from Paris and Berlin, and of which the anxious wish was ever father to the thought. Both countries would gladly see peace restored between Russia and Japan, and thereby be freed from the imminent danger of being forced to carry out their part of the contract; neither is blind to the disastrous possibilities of the European conflict which their open participation in the

Russian domestic and foreign troubles would lead to. While Rojstvensky is quickening all he can the pace of France in Kamranh Bay, the Russian subalterns in Poland are inciting riot with the view of quickening the pace of the German Emperor.

LONG TIME BETWEEN SHOTS.

The unsophisticated will wonder what it all means. Here is a first-class scandal in Brooklyn's crack Twenty-third Regiment. Col. William A. Stokes has flown off the handle, and criticized his own regiment, whereupon General James McLeer hauls up the colonel, and has it out with him.

It all comes from idleness. Neither the colonel nor the general would be at outs with each other if they were busy. But the trouble is they are not busy. There is nothing doing. Hasn't been for some time. Since the Albany strike, when the Twenty-third Regiment, Colonel Stokes's regiment, rioted through the city, and murdered an innocent shopkeeper standing at his door, the regiment's hands have been lying idle. When business is good partners are happy; when business is bad they grumble and fall out. And so, "business" being bad with the colonel's regiment, he has shot off his mouth. Not having workmen to shoot at; being deprived of the exhilarating sport of terrorizing a whole city, of chasing the wealth producers with guns, and shooting somebody, lest the hunt be lost—what is the glorious Twenty-third Regiment to do? The song they sang at their recent annual dinner, and which was published in full in these columns, invoked the Muse to send them "business." But the Muse seems to have been deaf to their entreaties. She sent no "business," and there seems to be none in sight. And so the colonel got himself into some other trouble.

"Long time between drinks!" said the governor of North Carolina to the governor of South Carolina. When Colonel Stokes started to tell on his regiment, what he had in mind was: "Long time between shots!"

BY THE WAY!

The following puff and endorsement appears on the front page of a certain Chicago daily—the "Daily Review":

PROMINENT SOCIALIST COMMENTS.

Editor Chicago Daily Review, Chicago, Ill.

Dear Sir:—The Chicago Daily Review represents an interesting and fruitful experiment in journalism. There has long been a need for a paper which in price, size and quality should be suited to the body of persons who desire to know the principal events of current history promptly without necessity of wading through the vast mass of worse than useless stuff that appears in the ordinary daily.

The Chicago Daily Review seems to fill this field very acceptably. At the same time its one strong "feature story" each day, and its well edited departments make it an interesting family organ.

Very truly yours,

A. M. Simons,
Editor Charles H. Kerr & Company.

What kind of paper may this be?

Rather than answer the question ourselves, let the paper in question speak for itself. Here is an editorial paragraph, in the April 26th issue of the said "Daily Review," the identical issue that contains the above quoted front page puff and endorsement:

"Mayor Tom Johnson of Cleveland, has been fighting the battles of the people in that city for many years and is still applying his genius to the solution of the traction problem. His latest proposal is that the street car business of the city shall be taken over by a company formed for the purpose of operating the lines in the interest of the public, paying interest to those who hold obligations against the property and then to apply all surplus to betterments. This would be a step in the right direction. It would go far, if successful, toward showing that public utilities can be so managed that they will be of benefit to all the public."

Seeing that one swallow does not make a summer, we once more put to the said Chicago "Daily Review" the question: "What kind of a paper may you be?" The following other editorial paragraph, from the identical issue containing the above quoted endorsement and puff, confirms the answer indicated by the first paragraph. It is this:

"New York employers and mechanics in the building trades have taken a long step toward a better condition of things in the labor world by signing an arbitration agreement that will prevent strikes and lockouts. There are few real grievances that cannot be adjusted by impartial arbitration."

The answer is complete, ample: the Chicago "Daily Review" is a bourgeois radical reform paper, with all the cap-

italist ignorance of the needs of society, and admiration for the will of the wisps that may tangle up the solution of a labor problem, and help safeguard the stolen goods of the capitalist class. There is no fault to be found with all this, a capitalist paper is there for capitalist purpose; it is accordingly perfectly legitimate for the Chicago "Daily Review" to advertise the sham of Simple Simon, otherwise known as "A. M. Simons, Editor," as a "prominent Socialist"—that is all right. But what does not look all right is the said "A. M. Simons, Editor's" exhibition of "individual opinion" and the gentleman's objection to a similar exhibition on the part of Victor L. Berger, of Wisconsin, both gentlemen being unquestionable pillars of the so-called Socialist, alias Social Democratic, alias Public Ownership party.

If "A. M. Simon, Editor," has a right to his "private opinion" of considering the Tom Johnson scheme of buying the street car lines and "paying interest to those who hold obligations against the property" as a good thing, of applauding the editorial department of a capitalist paper that publishes such views, and of pronouncing such an editorial department "acceptable"—why should not Berger likewise have the right to the "private opinion" of considering a capitalist candidate "acceptable?"

If "A. M. Simons, Editor," has a right to his private opinion considering "acceptable" the editorial department of a paper that declares "there are few real grievances (between employer and employee) that cannot be adjusted by impartial arbitration"—why should not Berger likewise have the right to his "private opinion" of likewise coquetting with capitalist views?—even though he may not likewise rake in a copper or two for the "good cause," while indulging his private views?

If the Wisconsin gentleman is an opportunist and should therefore be kicked out of "A. M. Simons, Editor's" party, as this gentleman suggests should be done—for what reason should not a generous application of kicks likewise fire "A. M. Simons, Editor," out of Berger's party?

By the way, is it not about time for the holding of another "harmony convention" between the Berger Socialists, and Volkszeitung Corporation Kangaroos of whom "A. M. Simons, Editor," is the Western picket?

(From Fairbairn, Minn., "Referendum.")

If any De Leonite asks you "What's the Difference?" tell him it's 375,000 or thereabouts.—Jos. Wanhope, in the Pop-Demo., Bryan-Hearst, Gompers-Belmont sheet, the New York Worker.

Or, to the Debs vote in Boston, of might refer him to the Debs vote of 46,000 in Chicago November 4, 1904, and to your city ownership Democrat, alias "Socialist" candidate, Fakir John Collins' vote, April 4, 1905, of 23,000—a loss of 100 per cent. in five months.

Or, of the Debs vote in Boston, of 5,500, November 4, 1904, and the "Socialist" alias public ownership single tax, double tax, wage party vote of 1,800 the following January, a loss of over 300 per cent.—and there will be other differences, Mr. Wanhope, just as soon as the workers get on to such fakirs, traitors and political crooks as you, who are in the Socialist movement for the money they can get out of it. Just stick a pin there, Joey, the freak.

I would like to have your opinion of the Grand Junction advancement, published elsewhere in this issue.

E. B. Ford.

FANEUIL HALL SECURED

For Big Meeting on Socialism and Industrial Unionism During S. T. & L. A. Convention.

Faneuil Hall, the most historic meeting place in Massachusetts, which has been restored to its original design by the city of Boston at a cost of over \$75,000, has been secured by Section Boston, Socialist Labor Party, for the evening of June 6, 1905, when the greatest public demonstration ever held for Socialism in Massachusetts will take place.

All the delegates to the National Convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, opening in Lynn, June 5, are expected to be present, the trolley ride from Lynn to the Hall is very picturesque, embracing woodland and ocean scenery. The use of the Hall has been secured for the entire evening, from 6 to 12 o'clock, so that committees may assemble there any time between 6 and 7:30 o'clock p. m., when the meeting will be called to order. Industrial Unionism and Socialism will be thoroughly discussed by able speakers, followed by free discussion of the resolutions offered.

The Hall will accommodate about 4000 persons. The galleries will be reserved for ladies and their escorts until 7:30 o'clock p. m. Comrades and friends of the movement are requested to give all possible publicity to this great meeting.

Admission FREE.

THE GOLDEN RULE

As A Remedy for the Conflict Between
Capital and Labor, on the Basis of
the Wages System.

Our friend the local Socialist—he who is studying American economic evolution, and gave us recently some excerpts from an interesting book called "Class Interests"—is continuing his visits to the book stores in search of material. Last week he "picked up" four books published in the decade of 1880-1890. One of these "Socialism" by Starkweather and Wilson, a work that was the subject of much contemporaneous discussion. The others are "impartial" studies of Socialism and social questions by two ministers and a college president. These "impartial" studies are fairly bursting with pretensions of even handed justice to both Capital and Labor; but they show, on the whole, a decided bias for the former, mitigating its injustices, and defending its "rights," while insidiously condemning Labor and leaving it at the mercy of the exploiter. To some, this may appear to be a matter for despair. But such it is not: on the contrary, it is a hopeful indication. History has repeatedly shown that the deeper and the greater a wrong, the more NEED is there for the employment of every faculty and dart to prevent its uprooting and overthrow by truth and justice. The struggle for the abolition of chattel slavery should leave no doubt, if any exists, on that score. The fact that a great army of intellectual and able men are required to oppose the labor doctrines of a comparative few, speaks volumes for the inherent value and significance of those doctrines. Where there is much attack, there is a great enemy.

But this a digression. Let us get back to one of the three "impartial"—"Working People and Their Employers," by the Congregational minister, Washington Gladden, the now famous "tainted money" moderator—and extract what good we can from it. Published in 1885, but a short time after the Civil War, and while the country was still rankling from the wounds created by it, the preface contains a sentence that is indicative of the change from the old slavery to the new, and the necessity for a settlement of the issues growing out of the latter. The sentence is as follows:

"Now that slavery is out of the way, the questions that concern the welfare of our free laborers are coming forward; and no intelligent man needs to be admonished of their urgency." It is of no slight importance that such a statement should be written so shortly after the great "American conflict." The statement shows that the evolution of "free" industry is rapid in this country. Though many sought to deny their existence at that time, these same questions, thanks to the same profound cause, have grown in their urgency since the aforementioned statement was made. So much is this the case, that the labor question now commands the direct attention of the chief executive of the nation, a thing that would have been deemed preposterous at the time "Working People and Their Employers" was written. Then, not only was the existence of a labor problem denied, but the labor question was regarded as an incidental phase of the tariff or the money question, of no primary importance and, consequently, only worthy of secondary consideration, if considered at all. Now, all is changed. Few men of intelligence and knowledge will now deny that the problems of capital and labor are the greatest problems of American society. Such is the rapidity with which we progress!

Of the nature of these problems, "Working People and Their Employers" affords a correct diagnosis. In chapter II, entitled "Labor and Capital," we read this statement:

"The fundamental principle of this wages system is competition, that is, conflict. If all men were benevolent, if the Golden Rule were the rule of all exchanges, of course this need not be; but unfortunately, the business of the world is for the most part organized on a basis of self-interest; and thus, by the wages system, the interest of the employer and the interest of the laborer come directly into collision. The laborer wants all he can get for his labor, the employer wants to give for it no more than he must; and between the two there is an unceasing struggle for advantage and mastery."

Further along, in the same chapter, after describing the state of incessant war produced by this conflict of interest, the author says:

"Capital will assert and maintain its claims, so will labor; and neither will yield to the other more than it is compelled to do."

This is pretty plain language, but what is the remedy proposed for the conditions which it describes? Let the author tell us in his own way:

"If the capitalist would measure his profits, and the workingman his wages,

(Continued on page 5.)



BROTHER JONATHAN—Glad to meet you again. You were to show me how a Socialist political organization could exist and triumph, unaffected by the inevitable wrangle among the workers on the economic field.

UNCLE SAM—I undertook no such contract. On the contrary, I proved to you that a Socialist political organization could not chose but rip asunder if made up of workmen who are in each others hair on the economic field.

B. J.—But you showed me that, as things are, such wrangles on the economic field are inevitable.

U. S.—As things are, yes; but it does not follow that, "as things are," that is the way they need be.

B. J.—How would you avoid it?

U. S.—Let's see. You were of the opinion that a political party of Socialism must not bother with the "dirty wrangles of the economic movement."

B. J.—Yes; and you showed me that such a posture was false.

U. S.—Exactly. It is the silly ostrich's posture that hides its head, and believes that, if it does not see its chasers, they do not see it.

B. J.—Just so.

U. S.—Even if a political party of Socialism tried to ignore the wrangles of the economic field, the wrangles will not ignore it. Its wrangling membership will carry into the party organization the wrangles that divide them on the economic field.

B. J.—I now admit all that. But how is the thing to be avoided?

U. S.—I shall enter upon that presently. Before doing so, however, it will be necessary to remove a cobweb or two from your mind.

B. J.—Which?

U. S.—We have proceeded so far upon the theory that the concentration of capital is proceeding so fast that within ten years the Union will have no chance any more—

B. J.—That is the theory from which we proceeded.

U. S.—That theory needs a little clarification.

B. J.—In what way?

U. S.—Do you mean to say that there will not then be any Union in existence?

B. J.—Just so!

U. S.—Are you ignoring what is going on between the National Civic Federation and Gompers?

B. J.—The National Civic Federation of Trust and monopoly magnates is flirting with that scamp of a Gompers!

U. S.—Don't use such harsh terms, as "scamp." They will heat you up.

What we now want is coolness of judgment. The National Civic Federation and Gompers are doing more than "flirting." They are negotiating and "laying pipes."

B. J.—To what end?

U. S.—Just wait! To the extent that machinery is perfected skill is eliminated?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—And to the extent that that process goes on and capital concentrates, relatively fewer men are employed, and the army of the unemployed increases?

B. J.—Certainly!

U. S.—Limit at the end of these ten years limit that you set, the men out of work will be numerous? a vast army?

B. J.—Yes.

U. S.—Why do you hesitate?

B. J.—Because I imagine I perceive where I erred again.

U. S.—Do you perceive—springing out of the conjugal embrace between the National Civic Federation and the Gompers stamp of labor leaders aided by the circumstance of an ever increasing mass of displaced labor,—do you perceive a substantially new thing looming up, but yet bearing the name of "Union"?

B. J. (meditatively)—No; I can't quite say I do.

U. S.—Does not an increasing mass of unemployed mean an increased number of small store-keepers?

B. J. (astonished)—How?!

U. S.—In that workingmen who once could lay by savings, now finding work precarious, fall back upon their savings, and raising a loan here, burdening themselves with a mortgage yonder, scrape up enough to set up a little store.

B. J.—Why, so it is!

U. S.—That, by the way, explains the problem that puzzles some superficial So-

(Continued on page 5.)

cialists such as the German Bernstein and their American congeners, who claim that Marx was wrong, and that the middle class does actually increase, instead of decreasing. But I won't go into that now. Strange as it may sound, continued hard times to Labor is followed with an outbreak of rash of fresh small stores.

B. J.—Guess you're right.

U. S.—And does not an increasing mass of unemployed simultaneously reduce sales at the small stores, both by reason of fewer purchases and by reason of the increased number of competing small stores?

B. J.—Inevitably.

U. S.—And dissatisfaction increases?

B. J.—Sure, pop!

U. S.—And would be centered against the big National Civic Federation concerns?

B. J.—Guess it would.

U. S.—And render them unpopular?

B. J.—Sure!

U. S.—Unpopular with a ballot-holding mass?

B. J.—Ayé! Ayé! There's where we'll come in—

U. S.—And get left, upon the road that you travel!

B. J.—How's that?

U. S. (deliberately)—Because at that juncture you will be in a hole, with two capitalist guns upon you like the Japanese guns playing upon the Russian battleships in the harbor of Port Arthur from the top of 203-Meter Hill.

B. J. looks bewildered.

U. S.—And what's more, both the guns will be of your own manufacture.

B. J.'s bewilderment increases.

U. S.—One of the guns will have been cast in the foundry of "superstition concerning the Union"; the other gun will have been cast in the foundry of "ignorance concerning the Union"—two seemingly opposite but kindred establishments.

B. J. looks blank.

U. S.—The mission of the Trades Union is to organize by uniting, and to unite by organizing the WHOLE working class industrially. Accordingly, the Union must organize not merely those for whom there are jobs and who can pay dues. The industrial organization that excludes the unemployed and non-dues-payers ruptures the solidarity of labor. The complete unification of labor is essential for victory. It is essential because peace can not reign in a political party of warring workers; and it is essential in order to save the event—political victory—from bankruptcy.

B. J.—Bankruptcy!

U. S.—Yes, sir; bankruptcy. Do you remember the threat that the Trades magnate made to the Working Class in 1896?

B. J.—They threatened that if Bryan were elected they would shut down, stop production.

U. S.—And do you know what that would mean? It would mean the bankruptcy of the political victory.

B. J.—That would be disastrous.

U. S.—And what would enable the capitalist class to carry out their threat?

B. J.—What?

U. S.—The fact that the Working Class is divided between the organized job holders and the unorganized unemployed. The fact that the industries are not all organized from top to bottom. Without the practical solidarity of labor in thoroughgoing industrial bodies the working class will be unable to assume and conduct production the moment the guns of the public powers fall into its hands—or before, if need be, if capitalist political chicanery pollutes the ballot box.—So there you have the gun that you have yourself cast—the gun of "Ignorance Concerning the Union"—raking you fore and aft.

B. J. looks annihilated.

U. S.—But now comes the other gun—the gun of "Superstition Concerning the Union."

B. J.—Which is that?

U. S.—It is the inevitable obverse of the attitude of men, who held like p-15th; to foster a superstitious awe for p-23d; word "Union." You mean to ignore p-23d; Union; you actually despise it; but r. May of the practical results of your condit sur- is to play into the hands of the God sur- pers mystificationists. The transla- days into acts of your slogan "Don't bot- with the Unions!" is to bow abjectly

(Continued on page 6.)

CORRESPONDENCE

Watch
will tell
pines. P
acop
CORRESPONDENTS WHO PREFER TO APPEAR IN PRINT UNDER
AN ASSUMED NAME WILL ATTACH SUCH NAME TO THEIR COM-
MUNICATIONS, BESIDE THEIR OWN SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.
NONE OTHER WILL BE RECOGNIZED.

AS TO THE CHICAGO CON-
VENTION.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Every proposed candidate to the Chicago convention should state his position. I am in full accord with Comrade De Leon's views on instructions and endorsement.

Recognition of the class struggle, of the merchant character of Labor, of an unceasing demand for the unconditional surrender of the capitalist class is the only basis of organization I can accept or will defend.

A political party of the revolution naturally reflects the material interests of the revolutionary class. Such a party is the eyes, the brain, the head of the revolutionary body whose economic interests are reflected. The Working Class is the body of the revolution, also of the new social order. The bona fide political party of Labor is the head, and must precede the body. In a successful revolution the head becomes the head of the new social order, the central directing authority. In all cases the head is responsible for, and answerable to, the body. In order that functions may be properly performed the body must send blood to the brain which must be sent back again. In short, the head and the body are one, acting and reacting upon each other.

If the simile used by Comrade De Leon illustrates the present condition, then the body, being uppermost, demands our careful consideration. Some concern has been felt lest the Socialist Labor Party should be lost during the economic organization of the Working Class. Now, if the Socialist Labor Party is the head of the Working Class, it cannot be lost. If it is not the head, the time has not yet come for the proper organization of the workers.

Every repressive force at the command of capitalism will be used against the new organization, and the conflict between Labor and capital will be more terrific, but instead of a retreating army of Labor there will be an advancing army of Labor and a retreating army of capital. Under present conditions it is capital, demanding no interference in production and exchange. Under the new unionism, Labor will protest against any hindrance to production and exchange.

Such are my views poorly expressed. Feeling the stupendous importance of the occasion I leave the matter thus, hoping that the time has come for beginning the work of economic organization and that our convention may find others more capable of taking part in that work than myself.

Theo. Bernine.
Indianapolis, Ind., May 1.

COMRADE JACOBSON'S OPINION IN-
VITED.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I would request Comrade Peter Jacobson, who has accepted the Socialist Labor Party nomination as delegate to the annual convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, to express himself briefly as to the course he would pursue in the Chicago convention to be held June 27th, should he be elected by the S. T. & L. A. convention as representative to the Chicago meeting.

Comrade De Leon, in his "Confession of Faith," recently promulgated, says that he will not make a motion that the new industrial organization shall endorse the S. L. P.—not only that, but he gives notice that he will oppose such a motion coming from any quarter.

Comrade Jacobson, do you agree or disagree with this policy announced by Comrade De Leon? Speak out at once through the columns of the Party organ, for I, and perhaps others, want information before we vote.

Alex. B. McCulloch.
Manchester, Va., May 2.

COMRADE JACOBSON'S VIEWS.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—As I have been requested to express myself as to the course I would pursue should I be elected by the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance Convention as a delegate to the Chicago convention on June 27, I submit the following:

Comrades, I have always looked upon the Socialist Labor Party as the right arm, and the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance as the left arm, of the revolutionary movement of this nation; and if you cut off the left arm, you will then have a cripple left to fight in the political field; and, on the other hand, from an economic view, if you cut the right arm off, you will then have a cripple left to fight the battle on the economic field.

I do not believe that the majority of the party members want the delegates of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance to the Chicago convention to cut the

Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance away from the Socialist Labor Party, and as I am a member of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance, I would, under no condition, be a party to cutting away from the only true revolutionary political party of this nation, and I can see no reason why we should do so. United we are strong; divided we are weak.

You may say that we are small in numbers, but I know we are strong in action, and as the Fakirs are losing ground, the victory will be ours.

I do not expect that I will be nominated in the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance Convention as a delegate to the Chicago convention, but should the above views of mine be upheld in the convention, and I am elected a delegate to the Chicago convention, I will stand by them.

I believe I have given my views—short but plain—to your satisfaction. I remain, yours for the emancipation of the wage workers,

Peter Jacobson.
Yonkers, N. Y., May 5.

A GENUINE VOLKSZEITUNG
AT THE GAME OF BUNCO.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—It is a true saying that, give the right fellow plenty of rope and he is sure to do the right thing. A case in point is that which happened not long ago in Norwich, Conn. The Socialist Labor Party has no organization in Norwich. The Social Democratic, alias "Socialist" party had a local there. That organization was fathered by one of the "alte Genossen", namely, Robert Gley, who never tires of telling of the "Socialist movement in Germany", and the prominent part he took in that movement when there. And so they would come together and over a glass of beer they would talk of party matters at home and abroad—mostly abroad. Being a follower of the "Volkszeitung" Genosse, Robert Gley has the same opinion of the Socialist Labor Party as the "Volkszeitung" has itself, namely, that the Socialist Labor Party consists of a few "Amerikaner" who know nothing of Socialism, to say nothing of the misrepresentations of the Socialist Labor Party with which he stuffed his followers? Everything would have gone on as usual, had not Mr. Gley himself come to the rescue, and this is where the fine points of the rope come in.

One fine day, Genosse Gley came to the meeting of the local, and presented a letter which he said he received from the State organizer. The letter read that the State Organizer will be at headquarters in New Haven and that all locals in the State are called upon to send delegates to receive instructions about their new by-laws, etc. Genosse Robert Gley made a long speech about the necessity of sending a delegate, and made a motion that \$10 be given to the delegate for expenses. And he talked of the necessity of sending one who knew all about the movement to properly represent the local, meaning, of course, himself. The local voted the \$10, but instead of electing Robert Gley they elected one Frank Homestead, an American young man who is well liked. Robert Gley, seeing that another was elected as delegate took his coat and left in a hurry.

On the appointed day given in the letter supposed to have been received by Robert Gley, the delegate went to New Haven. When he got there and began to look up things he found it all a fake. No letter was sent. No organizer was to come; no convention was to be held, nor was one contemplated. Utterly disgusted, he came back to Norwich, returned \$5 to the local, and told his experience. Then it dawned upon them that Genosse Robert Gley wanted to go a-junketing, and wanted the local to pay for it; and this was the roundabout way he worked his game. The first effect was that the local "busted" up. The honest rank and file opened its blinkers and is now willing to listen to reason, and a Socialist Labor Party organization may be the result.

Let us hope that the honest rank and file who paid their money and gave their labor, believing they were advancing the cause of Socialism, will now see that they were helping the Volkszeitung corporation, whose network of representatives look upon an honest workman as a milch cow.

Ch. Sobrowski.
Norwich, Conn., May 3.

TO INCREASE MEMBERSHIP.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—Since we are about to begin our campaign of outdoor meetings, I wish to make a few suggestions. I consider that the most important thing to be done during the coming summer months is to increase the numerical strength of our organization. As a political party, we are asked that

we are too small to accomplish much. It will not do to be satisfied with what members we have. That would result in our party growing still smaller. Our members are not going to be satisfied to stand still. If we do not grow they will get discouraged and either become inactive or drop out entirely. Our members can be appealed to from time to time to exert themselves more and they will respond and work harder for a short time, but if they do not see any growth, they will soon quit. Every future appeal will have less effect.

No one cares to work for an apparent hopeless cause. The only thing that will stimulate our members is a growing organization. I do not underestimate the necessity for getting subscriptions to our party organs and selling books at our street meetings, but there is one thing I consider of still greater importance at the present time, and that is to get new members. There is plenty of material that is fit to be taken into the Socialist Labor Party. If we go at it right, we can pick up at least one new member at each street meeting. In New York City we have sold books and distributed literature for years. Many working people have read it and, to some extent, understand it. But they do not come to us and apply for membership. They seem to think that the only part for them to play is to follow us around at our street meetings, listen to our speakers, and watch us do all the work. We must teach them differently. Our speakers should not spend all of their time in telling about the great cause we are working for; they should also consider it important to appeal to outsiders to get into our party and help us. I, for one, am going to carry application blanks with me when I attend street meetings and do all I can to get new members.

I am not in sympathy with the comrades who think we are growing too fast. Of course, we want the right kind of members and, what is more, we can get them. There is plenty of good material floating around. Let's get after it and build up our party organization.

Andrew Sater.
New York, May 3.

SOCIALIST UNITY.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I wish to commend "The Irrepressible Class Conflict in Colorado" as the best exposition of the conditions in the Cripple Creek district. I wish I could sign myself "fraternally", but at least I feel sure that things will so shape themselves that in this country, as in France, Socialist unity will be accomplished.

Herbert M. Merrill,
Sec. Local S. D. P.
Schenectady, N. Y., April 29.

AS TO THE LABEL.

To the Daily and Weekly People: The Secretary of the Navy Yard Machinists Local, Mr. Seekins, wants to know why there is no label on The People, if it is published, as I stated, by organized labor? I would like The People to answer that question for there are a number of Gompersites sneering about it. Give it to them straight from the shoulder.

D. L. M.
Portsmouth, Va., April 30.

II.

(From Daily People, Nov. 19, 1904; Weekly People, Nov. 26, 1904.)

AS TO THE LABEL.

To the Daily and Weekly People: During the present campaign I have frequently been questioned by union men as to why the S. L. P. does not use the union label on its literature and papers. I have always answered that we omit the label chiefly because the unions have permitted it to become a capitalist device for selling goods, and because it is not an infallible sign that the workers got even "decent wages." This reply is not satisfactory to the men I have met, most of whom are friendly to the idea of Socialism, and will vote the Debs ticket, mainly, I think, because of this union label matter. They say: "If you employ union printers you should use the union label to show that your work is not done by non-union or scab labor."

If your S. T. & L. A. is a union of honest men and your printing is done by its members, why don't you use its label? Are you ashamed to proclaim to the world that your work is not done by scabs?"

Now, I wish you would print this letter and append a straightforward answer to it, in language so plain that members of the S. L. P. can clip the article and keep it for the benefit of their pure and simple friends, who might thereby be induced to read our literature and see that we have the only genuine working class party in America.

T. J. Tanner.
Kansas City, Mo., Nov. 5.

[The gist of the question turns upon the point of the answer, quoted above as given by friends of the label idea. They are quoted as saying: "If you employ non-union printers you should use a label to show the seed of its doing."

the union label to show that your work is not done by non-union or scab labor. If your S. T. & L. A. is a union of honest men and your printing is done by its members, why don't you use its label? Are you ashamed to proclaim to the world that your work is not done by scabs?"

In the first place, THE S. T. & L. A. HAS NO LABEL. It once had one. It deliberately discarded the same at the Hartford convention. The label was discarded upon the argument that the label was one of the levers which insensibly switched a Trades Union from the class struggle plane, on which alone it can be true to working class interests, on to the "Mutuality of Interests between Capital and Labor" plane, on which the line of the class struggle is blurred to the inevitable ultimate injury of the working class. The instances proving the point were overwhelming. They showed how the label first becomes a protection to the employer's goods; how, from that, it is gradually used by the employer in competition with others of the trade; how presently it serves to place members of the Union on the employer's pensionary list, by sending them over the country to advertise that particular employer's goods as "Union Label Goods"; how from that the label insensibly becomes a tool in the employer's hands in that, tempted by the revenues which the label furnishes the Union, the Union officers will lend themselves to the employer as a means to place a competing employer at a disadvantage by refusing him the label. Finally, it was shown how by these easy gradations the label turns into a means of grave injury to the working class; it prevents the full organization of the trade as a necessary consequence or preliminary to refusing the label to an employer's competitor—a striking illustration of which was lately documentarily furnished in the instance of the Tobin Boot and Shoe Workers' Union; and secondly it debauches the Union officers engaged in such practices. Through them it debauches the Union itself; takes the Union out of the category of a bona fide Labor organization, whose duty it is to consolidate the working class, and throws the Union into the category of a guild. These and scores of similar arguments settled the question. The S. T. & L. A. abolished its own label. The S. T. & L. A. having done so, and justly, too, by what process of reasoning can the S. L. P. or the S. T. & L. A. man indulge in the display of the very labels that furnished the arguments for the S. T. & L. A. to abolish its own?

The label, at best, is a delusion. In very few cases does it really help the men, and what is gained there is more than lost by the loss of the general principle. It is, consequently, not because we are ashamed to proclaim to the world that our work is done under the best labor conditions possible, that we use no label even when we employ a Union that deals in the article. We use no label because by the light of our knowledge to use the label is to encourage a delusion on the whole gravely harmful to Labor—and the S. L. P., which, while it does not underrate, neither overrates the vote, holds that, not by fomenting delusion, but sober facts can the working class be emancipated.—ED. DAILY PEOPLE.

[It may be stated in addition that the label of the I. T. U. cannot be considered the label of a Labor Organization. At its recent national convention the I. T. U. voted down an anti-militarist resolution. Whatever else the label of such a body may denote, it certainly does not denote that the organization stands for the interests of the working class.]

MINER'S VIEW OF SOCIALISM.

To the Daily and Weekly People.—I am going to send in a couple of subscriptions for "Red Letter Day." Situated as I am at a mining camp in a dark canon, where the sun shines only six months in the year, and the "sun-shine of society" never shines, I can do but very little in the shape of propaganda for the Socialist Labor Party. I manage, however, to corner a fellow wage slave now and then, and talk over the social subject with him, a kind of on the quiet; and I do a little work by corresponding with relatives and friends and sending them reading matter, etc.

I am, by the way, not yet a member of the Socialist Labor Party, not that I have failed to see that the Socialist Labor Party is the only bona fide workingman's political party. Neither is it a failure on my part to perceive the vital point of system in an organization. In one sense, I consider myself as much a member of the Socialist Labor Party as any one belonging to it; for I consider that membership in such an organization depends more on principle than on having one's name on the books at headquarters. But, as I have stated before, I am not losing sight of the systematic side of the question, and as soon as I get to where I can meet some of the comrades, I shall very likely be enrolled as a member.

In joining the Socialist Labor Party (Continued on page 6.)

THE MALODOROUS KLENKE

Used to Dissuade Buffalo Workmen
From Joining the Socialist
Labor Party There.

The Daily and Weekly People are in receipt of a letter from Buffalo, stating that the record of the malodorous Aug. Klenke, at Erie, Pa., is being used to dissuade workmen from joining the Socialist Labor Party in the Bison City, and requesting information regarding him. In answer to this request, the following from the Daily People of January 12, and the Weekly People of January 21, is herewith reproduced. It is only necessary to add, for the benefit of the uninformed, that by "S. D. P." the "Socialist," alias Social Democratic party is meant; while the initials "S. L. P." represent the Socialist Labor Party.

KLENKE ON "THE DIFFERENCE."

To the Daily and Weekly People:—Please find enclosed copy of "Central Labor Union Journal" dated Jan. 6. The statement is made in the above paper that "Aug. Klenke has gone to Buffalo for the purpose of enlarging the organization of the S. D. P. in that city."

With the final death of "The Erie People," Klenke found himself "out of a job," as he was the business manager of that "Socialist" paper, which was practically the property of The Erie Brewing Co., said company furnished the money to bring it back from the grave.

It will be remembered that some time since the C. L. U. brought action against Klenke for embezzling certain funds, which belonged to the "union." Klenke was bound over to wait the action of the grand jury, and before the case was called Klenke paid the claims of the union and the costs of the court.

Of course, Klenke was a member of the S. D. P., or "S. P.," as it is called here in Erie, and during the time of his questionable actions retained his good standing.

Therefore it is quite logical that such a "comrade"; with so vibrant and sweet a record in "nobly waging the class struggle" should, according to the Buffalo "Enquirer" of last December 30, be now saying: "There is a vast difference between the S. D. P. and the Socialist Labor Party. The latter are extremists. We are the very opposite."

The comrades of the S. L. P. and all honest workers whom Klenke may come in touch with in Buffalo, will do well to keep an eye upon this "advance agent of Socialism."

The enclosed clipping is from the Erie "Central Labor Union Journal" of the 16th instant. Press Committee Section Erie, S. L. P.

Erie, Pa., Jan. 9.

(Enclosure.)

(From Erie, Pa., "Central Labor Union Journal," Jan. 6, 1905.)

GONE TO NEW FIELDS.

The news that Buffalo has a new champion in labor's name is given in another column. Erie's once self-imposed leader who blossomed and grew exceedingly fat for over two years in our midst, has taken up his bed and gone to pastures new. Let his memory be kept green, and may his like be not settled in the Gem City again. The Journal has no quarrel with him as a politician, for politicians are presumably all alike no matter what special party they represent, but as a labor leader, one who has the power to plan and do for those who believe in labor's cause, he has proven a failure to the cost of the movement in Erie. Accepted by many at first as a new Moses, followed blindly by a few to the last, his stay in Erie has proven a setback that will take years to recover from.

Mr. Klenke, while showing ability in a certain sense as an organizer during his early residence in the Gem City of the lakes, yet from results that have necessarily been made public during the past year, it is felt that his sojourn here has been more of a curse than a benefit. Erie workmen gladly resign him to Buffalo and heave a sigh of relief at his departure from their midst, and while wishing him no particular ill will, yet it is safe to say a majority of those who knew him here are of the opinion that an honest job at honest toil for this would-be statesman would be of a direct benefit to the labor organizations of which he posed as champion.

Rest secure in your new field of self imposed labor, Mr. Klenke, but here's hoping Buffalo labor unions are not the easy mark that Erie unions have proven to be in the past, be diligent and see that all money is put into your hands, and accept a word of advice from the Journal, see that you are the whole thing and for a season you may roll in wealth, but that season will stop after a while and your snap will be gone.

The People is a good broom to brush the cobwebs from the minds of the workers. Buy a copy and pass it around.

LETTER-BOX OFF-HAND ANSWERS
TO CORRESPONDENTS

[NO QUESTIONS WILL BE CONSIDERED THAT COME IN ANONYMOUS LETTERS. ALL LETTERS MUST CARRY A BONA FIDE SIGNATURE AND ADDRESS.]

N. M. H. JERSEY CITY, N. J.—The danger of Socialists selling out can only bother people when there is no danger, in that there is nothing to sell; when there will be really something to sell the danger ceases. Traitors can only betray weak causes; when a cause has become strong, then would-be traitors are "skeery." They love their necks too much to risk it.

J. M. R. TORONTO, CAN.—The matter will be taken up after the election of delegates to the Lynn national convention of the Socialist Trade & Labor Alliance. At this hour it would be improper.

R. E. P. DOVER, N. H.—Only the agents of Gompers, the Civic Federation and the Volkszeitung Corporation have pronounced the Chicago June Convention "an established failure in advance." We know of none other.

E. T. ROCHESTER, N. Y.—Look up the word "Troubadour" in any encyclopedia. It will give you the information you want. One of the Eugene Sue stories of the series of "The History of a Proletarian Family" deals with the epoch of the troubadours. Its name is "Mylio the Trouvere." The manuscript translation is ready. Will you help it along by getting it type-written?

F. F. NEW YORK.—The reason the A. F. of L. is frequently referred to as A. F. of Hell is that a large number of its organizers pronounce the letter "L" as "Hell." Moreover the punishment fits the offence.

J. C. W. TOLEDO, OHIO.—The Social Democrats of this city did not denounce Grand Chief Stone. They did not dare.

F. J. BROOKLYN, N. Y.—Get a copy of the "Chicago Daily Review" of April 26, and keep it always about you. Never say a thing without you have the facts to prove it.

A. O. H. EVERETT, WASH.—Read all the papers. You will be able to get out of the dilemma. The Socialist Labor Party is no more vituperative than an indictment. Upon the facts alleged an indictment says the man is a "thief," or a "murderer," or a "forger," as the case may be. The press of the so-called Socialist party never gives facts; only its own conclusions. And when it occasionally forgets itself and gives an alleged fact, the "fact" is regularly shown to be a lie.

L. V. NEW YORK.—The first part of the statement—"No truth is possible without material revelation"—is sound enough, although a more felicitous word than "revelation" might have been chosen. "Revelation" suggests mysticism in many minds. The second part of the sentence—"and no existence is possible without substance"—is superfluous. Its sense is amply contained in the first part of the sentence.

"CAP-MAKER", DETROIT, MICH.—The experience made here by the cap-makers during the strike was that scab goods (goods from a firm struck against) were allowed to be worked in

THE GOLDEN RULE.

(Continued from page 4.)

by the Golden Rule, there would be peace. And that this is the only way to secure peace on the basis of the wages system."

This remedy is not at all consistent with the diagnosis of which it is born. To expect the exercise of peaceful qualities on a basis of actual war, is not only a dialectical mistake, but a practical impossibility. What is the Golden Rule? It consists in doing to others as you would have them do to you. Imagine that rule in practice ON THE BASIS OF THE WAGES SYSTEM! Imagine an employer, compelled by competition to secure labor as cheap as possible in order to extract the wealth out of its hide necessary to make his factory profitable and save himself from bankruptcy, wanting labor, in order to preserve its status, to extract all the wealth possible out of him, with as little labor as possible, in return. Or imagine, on the other hand, Labor, compelled by its declining wages and increasing necessities to demand more wealth in the shape of wages, permitting the employer to demand more wealth, in the shape of profit, from him? It is impossible to follow the Golden Rule in a society based on a conflict of interests. The growing intensity of this conflict, since the writing of "Working People and Their Employers," despite the increased appeals to the Golden Rule, makes that clear. Peace is only possi-

Union shops, with the connivance of leaders of the Union. The rank and file who knew about it were afraid to kick, lest the leader kicked them out. One of the rank and file, however, wrote three successive letters under an assumed name to the leader who was betraying the men, notifying him of scab work being done in a shop. The leader thereupon went into conference with the employer, and the scab work continued under a different guise.

F. D. CLEVELAND, O.—The "Silver Cross" published by the International Publishing Co., is not De Leon's translation. He only wrote the preface. As that story is in English print, he will not undertake the translation of it until he is through with the rest of the stories.

S. E. F. ST. PAUL, MINN.—Strictly speaking the word "distribution" in the expression "production and distribution" is superfluous. Strictly speaking, "distribution" is part of "production." The servant girl who fetches a shovel of coal from the cellar into the room, the truckman who fetches a ton of coal from the coal-yard into the cellar, the railroad men who fetch tons of coal from the mouth of the mine to the cellar, are all "producing" coal as essentially as the miner in the bowels of the earth, and are all exploited. The differentiation of "production" from "distribution" has limited importance. The fact is a knock-out to all those who prate of labor as a "consumer." Labor is exploited all along in "production."

F. F. D. BISBEE, ARIZ.—The man is well known in this office for what he is.

F. T. CHICAGO, ILL.—There is not a thing—principle, point or law—mentioned in the so-called subsequent volumes of Marx' "Capital", that is not found concretely and clearly in the work that he published. It is very doubtful whether Marx would have published those additional volumes had he lived. We think not. They are merely elaborations from his notes, and not always clear.

TO PARTY MEMBERS AND FRIENDS IN ALL COUNTRIES—Forward copies of preambles and constitutions of your Unions. As extensive a set as possible is wanted in this office.

E. S. M. DULUTH, MINN.; B. H. PHILADELPHIA, PA.; E. E. MONTREAL, CAN.; I. F. F. NEW YORK; F. O. CLINTON, IA.; S. I. T. LINCOLN, NEB.; S. A. B. OGDEN, UTAH; N. J. D. WACO, TEX.; B. S. ST. LOUIS, MO.; D. E. T. NEW LONDON, CT.; E. L. G. INDIANAPOLIS, IND.; A. G. B. DETROIT, MICH.; L. B. CHICAGO, ILL.; M. A. E. SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH; J. J. PHILADELPHIA, PA.; E. F. J. DULUTH, MINN.; Y. L. SCHENECTADY, N. Y.; "C." CHICAGO, ILL.; H. S. BOUND BROOK, N. J.; F. B. SAN FRANCISCO, CAL.; M. G. P. BOSTON, MASS.; F. C. JERSEY CITY, N. J.; S. S. NEW HAVEN, CT.; L. C. H. LOS ANGELES, CAL.—Matter received.

ble when the cause of war is removed. The wages system is the cause of our present war. It must go. It is going before the onward evolutionary and revolutionary march of Socialism. When Socialism is achieved men will cry: "Peace, peace," not as some of our forefathers did of old, or as our clericals are doing to-day, with the sound of war in their ears, but with the glad fact of its realization beating strong in their hearts. The new slavery is like all the old slaveries; but a stepping-stone to a higher and better era!

[Our local Socialist promises to take up another one of the "impartials" next week.]

SECTION WESTCHESTER CO.
A convention of the membership of Westchester County is herewith called to meet on May 14, 3 o'clock P. M., at Comrade Sweeney's office, 14 Getty square, for the purpose of nominating a county ticket and to make arrangements for agitation in the coming campaign.

Peter Jacobson, Org.

BOHN'S CALIFORNIA ITINERARY.
Bakersfield, 8th-10th; Fresno, 11th-15th; Tuolumne, 16th-18th; Stockton, 19th-23d; Sacramento, 24th-30th; Reno, Nev., May 31 to June 2; San Francisco and surroundings, 20 days; San Jose and surroundings, 10 days; Eureka, 10 days. Definite dates for last three later.

BUSINESS DEPARTMENT NOTES

397 Willis avenue, New York.

B. J. makes an appealing gesture.
U. S.—Don't deny it! you fear to fight them! Why the fear? Lest the anathema of "Union Wrecker!" be hurled at your head. And what is the effect of that? Its effect is to cultivate a popular veneration for the word "Union" as a thing too sacred to be pried into. And that's just what the Gompers element wants, and what the National Civic Federation is after—
B. J.—They?
U. S.—Yes, they. A usurper needs the breastwork of mystification, with its resultant laming of the popular arm through reverential awe. The Social

At a special meeting of the Cutters' local 36, a committee from Local 4, (operators) asked the cutters to co-operate with them, to which the cutters agreed, by electing a committee to act in conjunction with similar committees from other committees, in the efforts to settle the strike.

The Detroit Cap Company gave out a statement to-day, in which it asserts that the main issue is "piece work" or "week work," all other demands will not stand in the way of a settlement.

The strike affects eighty operators and twelve blockers.

DR. WINSLOW'S SOOTHING SYRUP,
AND obtain that majority.

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